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PAPAGO
INDIAN
RELIGION

NUMBER 33 IN THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
CONTRIBUTIONS TO ANTHROPOLOGY

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FOREWORD

THE following study was made between the years 1931 and /114
1935, in a series of sojourns with the Papago, totaling some fifteen months. It is to be considered as a sequel to a previous paper on Social Organization (Underhill, 1939) and uses data furnished by many of the same informants.

The study was made principally on the Sells reservation, the /114
largest of three now occupied by the Papago, with a population 57
(1940) of 5,577. At that time the San Xavier reservation had 513 161
and Gila Bend 127. Also, some visits were made across the Mexi- /174
can border, where once there was a large Papago population. At present there is scarcely a village there which can be called exclusively Indian. The only one which holds a yearly Papago ceremony (Quitovaca) draws its performers largely from the American side. In Arizona, on the contrary, the Papago are a segregated group, with many ceremonies intact and others vividly remembered. Much regional difference was found, so that even on the Sells reservation ceremonial variations had to be traced through northern, southern, and western Papago.

Each village or group of related villages was found to have its /128
specialist, usually hereditary, for every ceremony. A few of the 791
more conservative objected to revealing their lore, but most finally consented to speak, always through an interpreter from the local group. Informants and interpreters are numbered for purposes of reference, and the number of each appears in parenthesis in the text following any statement for which he is the special authority.

Songs and ceremonial speeches were recorded in text, with /128
interlinear translation. Here, there appears only the free transla- /126

128 126 tion, made after careful discussion of the archaic words with several informants. At the left of each such item appears a serial number which will indentify it in a future volume of texts.

177 Some ceremonies, like the rainmaking, are still being widely held. Others, like girl's puberty, have lapsed completely. Notes at the chapter ends give the present status of each but, for consistency, the descriptions are all in the past. This echoes the wording of old ceremonialists who usually preferred to describe the rituals as they flourished at the turn of the century, before reservation days.

000 A few of the songs and speeches have appeared in a previous volume, *Singing for Power,* University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 1938. They are here reproduced by the kind permission of the University of California Press.

[122] Funds for this study were generously supplied by the Humanities Council of Columbia University. The writer is deeply indebted to Drs. Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict, under whose immediate supervision the work was carried out. The work had the able co-operation of practically the whole teaching staff of the Sells reservation, with much practical help from the superintendent, Mr. T. B. Hall. The true authors of the book, however, are the Papago ceremonialists who painstakingly dictated their rituals in order to make them available for future generations.

RUTH M. UNDERHILL

United States Indian Office
Washington, D.C.
January, 1946

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PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

PHONETIC SYMBOLS

104 The symbols used here, with a few variations, follow those recorded by Kroeber in Juan Dolores, *Papago Verb Stems* 1913, University of California Publications in Archaeology and Ethnology, X, 242.

a, i, o, u: roughly as in Spanish.
ï: the back-tongue, unrounded vowel found in many Shoshonean languages.
p, t, k: stops intermediate between surd and sonant.
t: a dental stop; t, retroflex.
s: a dental sibilant; c represents retroflex s.
r: always retroflex; the nearest the Papago can come to English r is l.
w: a phoneme; before ï, o, u it is the usual semi-vowel: before a and i it becomes bilabial v.

Papago words are accented on the first syllable of the stem. Since the stem is often preceded by prefixes not recognizable at a first reading, the accent has been written as a help to pronunciation. It indicates stress and has nothing to do with tone.

ANGLICIZED PAPAGO PROPER NAMES

A few Papago names have been Anglicised by common usage and are now capitalized. Since an accent is not ordinarily used with them, a list of those in the present volume is given below, with pronunciation.

Akchin: ak-chín
Anegam: aán-kam
Baboquiviri: pap-kí-vi-ri
I'itoi: í'itoi
Kaka: kák-ka
Komarik: kóm-a-ri'k
Navitcu: ná-wi-tcu
Pisinimo: pi-sí-ni-mo
Topawa: to-pá-wa

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BACKGROUND

THE Papago Indians, in the deserts of southern Arizona, were 221
an agricultural people, thoroughly adapted to farming and food 241
gathering in an arid country, yet they were obliged to be seminomadic. There were no rivers in their country, and they had to "follow the water" in order to keep alive. They spent their winters camping near small mountain springs, in shelters which were often roofless, guarding their few possessions from the wind, but exposed to the southern sunlight. When June brought a ripening of the giant cactus, nourished on the water in its fleshy trunk, they flocked to the hills to collect its fruit. Finally, with the first July showers, they migrated to the open plain, where their domed brush huts were clustered in permanent villages, uninhabited except in the rainy season. Here they could stay as long as the summer cloudbursts filled their primitive reservoirs and softened the rocklike adobe of their fields. When the corn, beans, and squash were harvested and the reservoirs were dry, they returned to the mountains.

This was their life practically up to the present generation. They 177
were first visited by Kino, the Spanish missionary, in 1691, and 648
after that they had sporadic contacts with Spanish whites during two centuries and a half. Yet their desert was too uninviting to be made a goal of empire, and they were never "reduced," like their Uto-Aztecan kinsmen of Sonora. Even when half their country became American, by the Gadsden Purchase of 1854, they remained almost unvisited. White pioneers streamed along the Gila north of them, bringing profound changes to the Gila Pima, their blood brothers. Still the "Desert People," as the Papago call themselves, remained aloof and almost unknown. They had not even a large reservation until 1917. No wonder they have retained almost to

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648 the present day many ceremonies that have been discarded by the Gila Pima and only vaguely hinted at by the vanishing Lower Pima or the Catholicized Tarahumara.

124 Rather we should say that *some* of them have retained *some* ceremonies, for the Papago are by no means a homogeneous group. Geographically they are divided into four main sections, each with a different dialect and, perhaps, having different biological elements in its population. These groups have been described in my previous volume,[1] but for convenience in following the ceremonies, they are listed briefly here.

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619
184 Northern Papago (nicknamed *totokuanyi,* loose G string), sometimes called "Archie people," from the name of their head village. Residents of this large and important division speak of themselves as the true Desert People, the first settlers of the country. They are in intimate communication with the Pima, and this same communication was going on even in Kino's day. Their language is closer to Pima than it is to southern Papago and in fact forms one dialect group with Pima and *kuhatk*. Because of the rapid acculturation of the last two, it is hard to tell whether ceremonial customs were shared also.

Quajote (Papago, *kuhatk,* translated "dried and burnt," or "bowl," alluding to the topography). This division is in close contact with Pima country, and for practical purposes is to be considered part of it. The dialects are identical, and the residents, though claiming the name "desert people," have intermarried largely with the Pima and, like them, have adopted white ways. They figure very little in this study.

Western Papago (nicknamed *huhura,* or *huhula,* orphans). These Indians inhabit the inhospitable desert country, the nickname of its residents indicating that they had no good water and could not build permanent villages. The inhabitants are spoken of by other divisions as sorcerers, a sure sign of strangeness, and their dialect is recognizably different. From an ethnological point of view, the north-and-south line dividing these people from the two just mentioned, is more important than the political boundary between Papago and Pima.

Southern Papago (nicknamed *kokororoti,* or *kokololoti,* from Tecolote, one of their villages). If *kuhatk* belongs practically with the Pima, this division aligns with Mexico. Its people camp and run cattle on

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[1] Underhill, 1939, pp. 59-69.

both sides of the border, or they did until a recent boundary fence 101
was erected. Their dialect shows many traces of Spanish, both in pronunciation 619
and vocabulary. They are nominally Christians, and their 184
government is of the style standardized by Spain for Mexican villages.
They have abandoned most of the old ceremonies and customs and
have been so harassed during the Mexican wars that their village,
clan, and moiety affiliations have been largely broken up. As compensation,
they shared earlier than the other groups in Spanish civilization.
They were the first to use wheat, horses, and cattle, and they
now include some incipient capitalists.

In a general study, it might be possible to include the Gila Pima,
called by the Papago the "River People" as another division. We
shall speak of them and the Papago together as Pimans, for the
separation of the two groups, with their distinct names, is a recent [177]
development, due largely to reservation geography. However Pima
ceremonies, today, are almost nonexistent. The Pima have been
subject to white influence for almost one hundred years and, even
when Russell visited them in 1901–2, he found only fragments
of ritual practice. Nevertheless, such songs and speeches as he recorded,
reveal striking likenesses to the material presented here.

True, there were some ceremonies which the Pima never had, 184
such as the salt pilgrimage and the rituals for local shrines. Yet 177
most others have left their traces. Sometimes a single song, roughly
classed as "medicine" or "festal," has the very words of a Papago
song that forms an integral part of some long ritual. Elements of a
curing practice which Russell could not explain, appear to be fragments
of the prayerstick festival that had been retained for curing,
though abandoned as a public performance. These similarities have
been noted in their suitable order. They give the impression that
Pima ceremonial life strongly resembled that of the northern Papago.
It may not have differed from that of the other divisions any
more than they differed from each other.

Papago and Pima both are divided into moieties, known usually 614
as Red Ants and White Ants among the Pima, Buzzard and Coyote 616
among the Papago. These sometimes have minor functions in ceremony,
such as painting the dancers but they do not conduct ceremonies
nor possess rituals. The same is true of the four sibs or clans,

614 616 with paternal descent. Of these, maam and vaaf belong to the Buzzard moiety, aapap and apki to the Coyote. A recently added sib, called okori, seems to be a catchall to take care of people whose affiliation is lost and varies as to moiety. The sib of an informant was recorded where known, but it seemed to have little to do with ceremonial functioning.

621 The important unit in ceremonial life, as in economic life, was the village. Each dialect group comprised some four or five of these, each with its cluster of offshoots and its hill camps, for use in the dry season.[2] Isolated in their separate valleys, these "village units" did not necessarily co-operate even for war. Each had its own set of hereditary officers, its local fetish, and its version of the ceremonies. Each was suspicious of its neighbors, particularly those of another dialect division. When they met for intervillage games, they prefaced the contest with a ceremony of challenge, indicative of the hostility that was inwardly felt. Had each of these units been given a separate grant of land, as was done for the Pueblos, we can imagine that they might have developed differences comparable to those of Tiwa, Tewa, and Towa.

771 A thorough study of these regional differences might cast some light on population movements in Papago and Pima country during the restless millennium before the coming of the whites. Very different influences have been operative there, for some ceremonies reflect the needs of an organized, agricultural people, some those of hunters and individualists. However the ceremonies arose, Papago culture has turned them all to one purpose—rain. War, puberty, curing, even the gathering of salt, were not crowned with success unless they brought this one supreme boon to a desert people.

THE ORIGIN MYTH

773 As a preface to Papago religious beliefs, it may be well to outline the origin myth. This myth does not form a consistent basis for the ceremonies as do, for instance, the Navaho hero narratives. In some respects, indeed, the rituals draw close to it, and the songs and speeches are said to have been used when the need for super-

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[2] *Ibid.*

natural help first arose. Again, there are long passages of the myth 773 that are unconnected with ritual and unknown, even to some ceremonialists. Still, it serves to place some of the supernaturals and the ceremonies they instituted.

The myth takes the usual southwestern form—a long prose narrative, interspersed with songs at points of crisis. The story is told in the narrator's own words, but the songs are, supposedly, those sung by the supernaturals and their followers when the Papago world was young. The songs, therefore, should always be the same, even though the narrative varies for each storyteller. If this was ever the case, it is so no longer. A few songs are so important that 184 they always appear, but there are long cycles which are sung in one village, but not in another. The relevant prose chapters appear and disappear in the same way.[3] One is reminded of many Pueblo and Navaho myths which, after a common introduction, diverge to describe exploits concerning particular groups or ceremonies.

There are only a few accredited narrators. One can be found in 538 every dialect division, though by no means in every village. Each narrator has received his lore from some relative; usually in the male line, and has learned it by the tedious process of repeatedly hearing the whole, without interruption, from beginning to end. He will hand it on in the same way to some young man, chosen for intelligence and a retentive memory. If suitable heirs are scarce, he may choose from the mother's side of the family, and even women have sometimes qualified. Members of the narrator's audience, too, may learn fragments of the tale and become informal narrators to small groups.

No central body passes on the correctness of any narrative. Each 773 village is a law unto itself, holding tight to its local version of myth 538 and ceremony. Here is no organized body of ceremonialists, intent on welding a theology into shape. Instead, there are a number of individualists, growing farther apart as lapses of memory and imaginative substitutions tend to change their narratives.

[3] The above statement would probably apply to the whole of Pimeria Alta for the Pima myth (Russell, pp. 206–42; 272–82) is essentially the same as the Papago. It would, in fact, appear to be better preserved, for it names more supernaturals than does the Papago version, and its details are more logically presented. See notes on pp. 8, 10, 11.

538 784 x796 The Papago have the usual southwestern rule that myths shall not be narrated in summer. They wait until the biting creatures are asleep, and desert people include among these not only rattlesnakes, sidewinders, and gila monsters but also vinegaroons, tarantulas, and even the stinging ants. One informant, persuaded to tell a fragment of the tale out of season, went for weeks in fear of a flood. The official time for myth telling is during the four days of the winter solstice "when the sun stands still." Then residents of the narrator's village approach him with a handful of cornmeal, asking that he spend four nights in telling the story from beginning to end. He fasts from meat, grease, and salt during the whole time, and the old rule demanded sexual continence also. The listeners must sit upright all night, keep silent, and not doze. If the narrator sees someone sleeping, even a child, he may break off the narrative for that night.

538 Besides this official narration, which amounts almost to a communal ceremony, the myth may be told at any time from November to March, after suitable gifts to the narrator. The writer heard it in this way from two accredited mythtellers, one (informant 9) from the northern Papago, and one(10) from the southern. Incomplete versions came from a number of different villages(19, 20, 29). Each narrator used free, colloquial prose, though Indian hearers reported that a narrator's phraseology was about the same whenever they heard him. However, the style varied greatly. The first narrator, an elderly man, was brief and terse. The second, who was younger, embellished his narrative with similes, descriptions, and dramatic dialogue in the voices of men and animals.

773 x539 The chief events, culled from all the versions, may be listed as follows:

1. In the beginning, all was darkness. Earthmaker and Yellow Buzzard[4] were floating in the void. They met four times, and each urged the other to make a world.

2. Earthmaker took "something from his heart," or "the dirt from

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[4] Yellow Buzzard of the Papago is the turkey vulture (*Cathartes aura septentrionalis*). He is the totem of one of the moieties, which accounts for his prominence in the creation myth. The Pima, whose totems are more often spoken of as red and white ants (*ibid.*, p. 197), make Earth Doctor the sole primeval being (*ibid.*, pp. 206–7).

his skin," placed it in the palm of his hand, and a green branch grew 773 from it. This was the greasewood. The lice on the plant produced a 539x gum, as they do still, and from this Earthmaker formed a world. He pounded it, singing, and it flattened out.

3. Before the earth was fully flattened, Earthmaker placed mountains on it, and in the mountains, shamans. On the mountain tops was bird down (clouds). As the earth flattened, the mountains and the shamans were spread everywhere.

4. The earth spread until it reached the edge of the sky dome; then it spun around until the edges were joined. From this union sprang a being who leaped up and down four times, shouting: "I am the child of earth and sky."

5. Earthmaker named the new being "I'itoi." He was a small man with a beard and white, or golden, hair.

6. In the northwest, from under a bush of *Encelia farinosa,* came another being, Coyote. He was foolish, but being "from the beginning," he was powerful. From this time on he acted as the messenger for the supernaturals.

7. The earth was moving and restless. I'itoi, Coyote, and Buzzard tried to stabilize it, without success. There arrived two Spider people, who made rope from their bodies and sewed the earth and sky together all around.

8. The mountains were shapeless. Their ranges and the rivers all ran west. Buzzard was sent out to gash the mountains with his wings, and to turn them and the rivers in various directions.

9. Earthmaker made the sun and the moon by throwing up water, first north, then west, then south, finally east, where in each case it remained. The stars he spat out as saliva.

10. Earthmaker made people from his body, but there was no death, and the people murdered one another for relief, so Earthmaker and I'itoi decided to produce a flood.

11. They did this in a roundabout way. I'itoi created a Handsome Man, who impregnated all the girls of the land, and the morning after his visit each bore a child. A magician brought it about that Handsome Man himself bore a child. He deserted the infant, which wept, and its tears made the flood.

12. The human race was destroyed, but the supernaturals saved themselves—Earthmaker on his magician's rod, I'itoi inside a large jar, Coyote inside a reed, Buzzard by piercing through the sky. A few men became birds and hung to the sky by their beaks, while others

773 x 539 became trees and took root. Others, with their dog, took refuge on the top of Superstition Mountain, near Phoenix, where they turned to stone. They can be seen there still, with foam marks part way up their bodies.

13. Earthmaker and I'itoi had agreed that the one who first emerged after the flood subsided should have the title Elder. This is a regular Papago kinship term used for all relatives in the same generation with oneself who are of senior descent. The term is *siis,* but in the legends it has the poetic form *si'ihī.*

14. Earthmaker emerged first,[8] I'itoi next, and Coyote last, but I'itoi insisted on the title Elder Brother, and Earthmaker conceded it. After this, I'itoi took the lead. Songs and legends speak of him as Si'ihī.

15. Earthmaker, I'itoi, and Coyote made a new population for the earth out of clay. Coyote's creatures were deformed and were thrown beyond the sea. Earthmaker's also were misshapen, while those of I'itoi were normal human beings.

16. Earthmaker and I'itoi quarreled over their creations. Earthmaker, after attempting to pull down the sky, gave up and sank through the earth, spreading disease as he went.

17. I'itoi's clay people gradually came to life and became the Pima, the Papago, the Apache, and the Maricopa. I'itoi chose the Papago for his own and taught them many arts and ceremonies. Here are mentioned the bow and arrow, the house, and the drinking ceremony.

18. His teaching done, I'itoi retired to a cave on Mt. Baboquiviri, and here the people sent delegates to him when they were in difficulties. They would find him a little old man but when he came to help them he was beautiful, young, and handsomely dressed. Various incidents in which he succored them are related at this point. Since most are localized, they are featured in one village, but omitted in another. (*a*) In Salt River country lived the rattlesnake, who had no fangs and was kicked by all the people, especially the Maricopa. I'itoi made fangs of one of his hairs, which he held up to catch the sunrays. The rattlesnake bit a Maricopa, who was cremated by his companions, thus establishing the Maricopa custom. Coyote stole the heart from the pyre. (*b*) At Santa Rosa a hole gaped in the ground, according to

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[8] At this point the Pima version (*ibid.*, p. 213) is more logical than the Papago, since it makes I'itoi emerge first. If emergence from the flood may be considered a symbol of birth, we have a real reason for the title "Elder," otherwise without significance in Piman society.

some narrators emitting water, according to others, a roaring wind. 773
The hole could not be stopped until four children, two of each sex, 539x
were dropped into it. Thus originated the Santa Rosa growth ceremonies. (*c*) At Poso Verde, below the Mexican border, a cannibal woman devoured children. She was stifled by smoke in a cave. (*d*) At Kaka there lived a man-eating eagle. I'itoi killed him and used his feathers for magic. Thus originated the eagle ceremony. (*e*) At Quitovaca, Mexico, there was a monster in a spring who sucked in everyone who approached. I'itoi allowed himself to be sucked in, killed the monster and released the victims. Thus originated the Quitovaca prayer-stick festival.

19. I'itoi, in his old age, became hostile to his people and assaulted their maidens at the girls' puberty ceremony. The people decided to kill him.

20. I'itoi was killed three times, but always came to life. Finally Yellow Buzzard, after consultation with the sun, shot I'itoi with an iron bow (gun).

21. I'itoi was dead for four years, after which he came to life and revived himself by means of the four winds.[6]

22. He rode with the sun to its setting, and went underground to ask help of the people there. [Were these the creations of Earthmaker? The legend says only that they were people who spoke the same language as those above ground.] The Papago and the Pima identify these new people with themselves.

23. The underground people decided to emerge. They sent Gopher ahead to bore holes for them, and they came out in four stages.

24. They emerged at the eastern extremity of Papagueria and marched to the west, driving the former inhabitants either north or south. These former inhabitants, whom the Papago and the Pima call Hohokam,[7] spoke the same language as the Emergents, but lived in walled towns of adobe.

25. I'itoi made the deer for the people's food (or had made them in his former existence), but an evil shaman corralled all the animals.

[6] In the Pima version (*ibid.*, p. 225), where Buzzard has not the prominence given him by the Papago, I'itoi is killed by the sun at Buzzard's (or Vulture's) request.

[7] There has been a linguistic confusion in the application of this term by archaeologists. *Hohokam*, or *huhukam*, is a reduplicated plural, from *huk* (end) and *kam* (person, or persons who). It means those who are finished or gone, and the Pimans apply it to the builders of the great houses, not to the residents who preceded them. By a perplexing twist the earlier inhabitants, I'itoi's creations, *are* the Pimans (Pima and Papago), just as the conquerors are.

773 Two brothers, who were hunters, paid the shaman their handsome
x53 necklace and earrings to be allowed to hunt for all the people. They instituted the deer-head disguise and its songs.[7]

26. The Emergents went across water, where they fought with people who spoke their own language. These were called Fox People, Wind People, and Bat People. The fratricide angered the sun, so he put a stop to the conquests. The Pima and the Papago returned home and settled their present country. The northern Papago had left a prayer stick [first mention of this kind of offering] at Archie, and they returned to found a village and institute the prayer-stick festival. They threw seed corn to the winds, and the distance to which it was carried, up and down the valley, defined their boundaries. The southern Papago, who had left their prayer stick at Quitovaca (Sonora), did the same.

27. The western Papago went on toward Gila Bend, where they were defied by Yellow Buzzard, I'itoi's assassin in the former incarnation. Buzzard was defeated and scalped, so his head is bare of feathers to this day. He begged for his life, offering to dance around his own scalp, hung on a pole, if he might be spared. I'itoi consented, and thus originated the scalp dance.

28. After the country was settled and the feasts were instituted, I'itoi returned underground. He has occasionally appeared since then, when his help was needed. Once, after the railroad came through Papagueria, he was seen, in the guise of a little old man, driving all the game away to safety. Here might be mentioned a variant of the last part of the narrative, told chiefly in the southern part of the reservation. In this version, I'itoi's final retreat is designated as Mexico, and he is called Montezuma. One young man [not an accredited mythteller] had worked it out that the I'itoi, who led the march of conquest, actually was Montezuma, reincarnated after his defeat by the Spaniards.[8]

773 A study of this disjointed myth, with its two definite breaks, might throw an interesting light on Piman history. Obviously the long creation story with which it begins shows resemblances to California, which is as near to the Pimans at the west as are the Pueblos at the north. The same holds for the episode of the dying god, killed by his own people. With I'itoi's resurrection, however,

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[8] This is a modern development. The older mythtellers had never heard of either Spaniard or Montezuma. The only Spanish-speaking people they know are the Mexicans, whom they regard as an indigenous people, like themselves.

the narrative breaks off from precedent. True, we are familiar with 773 Coyote's comic resurrections and with an occasional similar revival of a minor character. The death of the chief supernatural, however, usually forms the climax of the narrative, with resurrection postponed to the far future. The Pimans, on the contrary, use it as the transition to an emergence and migration myth, highly suggestive of the Pueblos.

The story of I'itoi's march of conquest goes into geographic detail, giving the localities of the great houses which were destroyed and the names of the *siiwanyi*[9] (rain magicians) who owned them. However, the tale has a baffling twist for anyone who would use it as a clue to Piman history. Were the Pimans I'itoi's original creations? Or were they the people who came from underground to destroy them? They assert that they are both. Some of their most important ceremonies, such as the rainmaking ceremony and girls' puberty ceremony are dated from the era when I'itoi brought them up "like children," and their sites are pointed out in Papago country. Yet the founding of Papago villages and the planting of their prayer-stick "roots" are episodes in the march of conquest.

If the Pimans were the first inhabitants and also the conquerors, there is one thing omitted from the story—the arrival of the great-house builders and their usurpation of the land. Can this be symbolized by the death of I'itoi? Another possibility might be that the present Pimans are a mixture of early inhabitants and of immigrants known to have filtered in from Tusayan country in the twelfth century A.D. The myths of various groups may have been joined in such a way as to leave the present tellers always in the position of chosen people and conquerors. Archaeology seems on the verge of solving the riddle, and when it does, interesting light will be thrown on the psychological motives in myth telling.

SUPERNATURALS

The degree of importance given to supernaturals in this myth 776 has little to do with their place in Papago ceremony. Earthmaker, for instance, is entirely unrepresented, either in song or in ritual.

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[9] Cf. Zuni *shiwanni*, rain priest (Parsons, 1939, p. 117) and Keres, *shiwanna*, cloud spirit (Dumarest, pp. 173–74).

His is a mysterious name, known to few beside the myth tellers, and the obscure preamble in which he appears is only a preliminary to the history of the essentially Papago god I'itoi.

The name I'itoi, however, is in every mouth. All know that he instituted the ceremonies, and often they know the story of the local shrine where he performed some exploit. The influence of Christianity has had its effect in raising I'itoi's status as the supreme supernatural, and many now speak of him as "the Papago Christ." However, I'itoi's name does not often appear in ceremonies. Only after research is it apparent that many of the rituals are repetitions of magical means used by him in the early days. The songs are those which he sang to gain power. The speeches, in the first person, recount his achievements, though sometimes in symbolic terms. Often, however, the myth is not told so as to make this connection. Some of the speakers themselves could not explain who the "I" of the narrative was. They say only, "That's how I learned it." Yet a study of the myth makes it clear that the uncostumed speaker, mumbling his account of the desired event in a low voice, is actually representing I'itoi. This is impersonation reduced to its simplest terms.

Of the other beings in the myth, none has retained vitality except Coyote. This is not because he is totem of one of the moieties. Buzzard, the other totem, has no place in ceremony whatever, and we suspect that he has been thrust into the myth to bolster up his importance, since the Pima, who have other moiety names, leave him out. Coyote is the hero of the usual cycle of tales, comic and admonitory, and in these he is made to talk with an impediment which narrators love to imitate. More than that, he is a vision giver, described as

Our woolly comrade,
Our shining eyed comrade,

and warriors, hunters, and healers sing songs given by him to convey power.

There are other supernaturals outside the origin myth, though more concerned with ceremony than are many within it. First of these is the healer and seed bringer, called Navitcu and represented as a masked clown. Although the impersonation of I'itoi is scarcely 776 recognizable, Navitcu is always dramatically represented, with kilt, white buckskin mask, and topknot of turkey feathers. He appears at the prayer-stick festival, entering from the north "which is his home," and uttering shrill, unintelligible cries. He has healing powers and will come at other times if you sprinkle corn meal upon the ground, for "he was the first who taught the people to do that." It is also stated that "he brought us the squash and, some say, the corn, too." Navitcu has obvious likenesses to a Pueblo kachina or a Pueblo clown. In fact, both he and his ceremony, the prayer-stick festival, show such obvious Pueblo affiliations that the subject will be discussed in another publication.

Other supernaturals who appear in ceremony, but not in myth, are the rain beings in the four directions. These are not impersonated or, in fact, even named. They are spoken of as "he, my guardian," the word being the same as that used for a ceremonial father. It is not used for other supernaturals and applies only to these nameless beings, who live in "rain houses" on the mountains and are approached by means of tobacco smoke. Obviously they are to be identified with the Pueblo "chiefs of the directions" [10] and with [777] the Aztec *tlalocs*. In fact a ceremonial speech made to them almost duplicates an Aztec prayer quoted by Sahagún.[11]

Last among the supernaturals, though most important in daily life, come the guardian spirits.[12] They, also, are absent from the origin myth, though one ceremonialist accounted for them, as an afterthought, by saying that they must be the survivors of the first flood, who turned into animals. They, with their supernatural powers, decide the fate of the average man. They can procure food where man would starve. They can burrow into the ground and fly into the air, sheltering themselves and avoiding danger, where man is an awkward target. These are powers that the desert man needs, and he feels that if the animals are friendly they will bestow them upon him. It is true that these same animals have been or-

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[10] Parsons, 1939, pp. 170–73.

[11] Sahagún, 1880, pp. 344–45.

[12] Russell says nothing about guardian spirits among the Pima. In view of the firm establishment of this belief among the Papago, it is easier to suppose that the Pima have lost it through acculturation than that they never had it.

776 dained as man's food. But this privilege has been granted by themselves and must not be abused. The slightest waste or cruelty will cause them not only to withdraw the food supply but also to punish man himself by disease. The way to cure disease is to please the [755] animals by virtuous living and thus acquire power to overcome the evils they send. The cycle is complete. The connection of practical economy with religious belief has been worked out by this frugal people as far as by anyone.

774 776 Not only the animals are living powers. Every part of the natural environment is also personified and must be treated with circumspection and respect. The individual, when going about his duties, should never attack nature roughly, but explain his need and ask for help. "I have come to get clay," says the woman who is digging material for her pots, "be favorable to me." The hunter, bending over a dead deer, apologizes: "I have killed you because I need food. Do not be angry." The planter, taking a handful of corn kernels from his pouch, adjures them: "I am dropping you into the earth. Now ripen well." It is a religion whose every act is focused upon the forces of nature, constraining them to help man or, at least, not to hinder him in his arduous tasks.

772 778 Those forces are not either good or evil. The Papago do not explain the supernatural world as a dualism, inhabited by both kindly and maleficent spirits. Rather, it is permeated by power which is helpful or destructive according to the medium through which it passes. A good being, human or supernatural, will use it for good; a bad one for evil. And the same being will change from time to time. Thus I'itoi and Earthmaker are not opposed forces, like God and the devil, but both in turn benefit man; then both mishandle their power and harm him. So the animal guardian spirits can turn unfriendly and send diseases. So the shaman can change from a healer to a sorcerer.

771 The fear of power is an underlying motive in Papago religion quite as much as the reverence for it. A man who has obtained power through vision or ceremony is regarded with apprehension as well as respect. "He might forget to take care of his fetish, and then he could make us all sick." The shaman, greatest recipient of [756] power, is also the only villager who can be killed with impunity.

Papago records are full of accounts of the lynching of shamans 771
whose power had turned destructive, perhaps without their knowledge. 756
I'itoi himself was killed in just this way. It may be suggested
that the story of the "dying god," shared by the Papago with several
California tribes, is, in fact, a magnified picture of shaman killing, [171]
reflecting actual practice among the peoples concerned.

CONTACT WITH THE SUPERNATURALS

Contact with the supernaturals was achieved by two methods 796x
that differ so much that they amount to separate religious systems. 781
On the one hand was a calendric round of ceremonies, conducted by a priestly hierarchy and bringing blessing to the whole community. It was a system of group control, in which the average man made no individual approach to the supernatural and received no individual power. He danced as directed, and he helped with the manual work of a ceremony, but he had no other responsibility. The blessing he received was the general one of well being for his village.

Opposed to this was the democratic concept of the guardian 776
spirit, opening the power quest to everyone. Formerly a Papago 796x
expected no success in life unless he had met some spirit tutelary
who had given him a song for use in time of need. Old tales do not 781
speak of heroes by name, but rather as hawk meeter, Coyote meeter, crane meeter. The conquest of the great houses is explained by the statement: "They could do nothing against us, we had so many meeters."

One such system has usually been enough for an Indian group— 796x
as communal ceremonies were for the Pueblos, and the vision for 787
the Plains. With the Papago the two seem to have been almost 781
equally developed. However, each had a distinct function. Communal ceremonies brought rain and therefore food; they have been spoken of here as "food ceremonies." Vision experiences brought power for individual achievements; the rites which set the seal on such achievements have been referred to as "power ceremonies." Different as the two were, both in purpose and in procedure, they were oriented to one final end, the acquisition of rain. Even in-

x796 dividual power might bring this as the end result, and he who had
787 attained that power in the highest degree had the title *síiwanyi,*
781 or rain magician.

x796 Food ceremonies form the more conspicuous part of Papago re-
781 ligious practices. They were carried on according to a yearly schedule for the making of rain, the growth of crops, the cleansing of food, the celebration of the harvest, and, once in four years, "to keep the world in order." Usually these ceremonies were based on I'itoi's exploits, and in them his songs were used. They were conducted by the regular village leaders: the keeper of the smoke, for rainmaking; the hunt chief, for the cleansing of deer and the harvest; the game chief, for the intervillage meet; the war chief, for the communal phase of the war ceremonies, which was specially dedicated to rain. Only in one case was the group of village officiants set aside, and that was for the unique prayer-stick festival, which had a hierarchy of its own, equally stable.

Food ceremonies took place on the village dance ground or in the brush hut which served both as council house and as sacred building. Usually all the elders of the village assisted in the singing, while selected boys and girls might perform a dance. The ceremony, at its fullest, required the exposure of a fetish (in Pueblo terms we might say the setting up of an altar), the recitation of a speech describing the desired event, the singing of songs to the same end, and a dance with paraphernalia. Not all ceremonies were so complete. The rainmaking cermony, for instance, lacked paraphernalia; most ceremonies for growth lacked the dance; the driving away of evil was reduced to songs only.

No supernatural was mentioned. Songs and recitations merely described the desired event in vivid terms, and the very description brought it to pass. Probably the whole was meant to reproduce an achievement of I'itoi in the early days of the world, and the speaker actually impersonated him.[13] Words, tune, costumes, and dance

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[13] Cf. the Cora songs for liquor fermentation and for deer hunting (Preuss, 1912b, pp. 22–23, 40–41) in which Morning Star is described as thinking over and performing each step in the above processes in much the terms used in the Papago speeches. The Cora *tonarikan,* Morning Star, is often called Elder Brother, as I'itoi is.

steps must all be in exact accordance with prescription, otherwise 796x
misfortune would attack the performer or, perhaps, the whole community. 781

Quite different was the plan of the power ceremonies. Here were no hereditary officials and no calendric round. Ceremonies were left to the initiative of the individual, and it was not even necessary for the community to be present. Nor did it benefit, except indirectly. The occasion for these ceremonies was a vision, but not one of the average sort, which might occur without effort on the dreamer's part.[14] Power ceremonies were a form of initiation, held after a man had been in close and dangerous contact with the supernatural. Three acts could bring about such a contact: killing an enemy, killing an eagle, or fetching salt from the ocean. They were in the nature of a purification and an initiation, validating a power received through ordeal. This ordeal was not a useless self-torture; it was an act of practical benefit to the community.

Having performed one of the ritual acts, a man had ranged him- 796x
self on the side of the supernatural. But the power which now 783
flowed through him was equally potent for good or for evil, and
he must go through a period of purification lest it destroy him. 781
This purification was truly an ordeal, involving the usual fast of the Southwest—abstention from meat, grease, and salt, and also sexual continence—the use of a stick for touching the head, avoidance of the sun and of fire, and a purifying cold bath. But these rigors were not endured in order to draw pity from the supernatural. Papago religious practices contain no element of humility or supplication; it was the expression of a democratic community in which groveling before superiors was an unknown concept. The neophyte was considered to have obtained supernatural power already, and the purpose of his ordeal was to tame it for his use.

Until this had been done he was dangerous, both to himself and 796x
to others. He and the fetish he had acquired—scalp, sea shells, or 784
eagle feathers—were avoided by all. So close was the family tie 781
thought to be that his wife, his children, and all their relatives must

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[14] See Underhill, 1939, pp. 167–74.

x 796 undergo a modified form of purification at the same time. They
784 would expect to share in the benefits of his power, but unless they
781 took precautions it would harm them.

787 It was during his 1/a period of seclusion that visions came. Here two
784 contradictory ideas had to be reconciled, for the neophyte was ex-
781 pected to learn from others, as well as dreaming for himself. The visions generally followed a pattern of visions recounted to him in standardized recitations by his "ceremonial father." This "made father" (*ókta*) was chosen by the neophyte from the men who had been through the experience previously. The lines of behavior follow those of a society initiation, yet the "made fathers" were not a society. Perhaps it was the semi-nomadic life of the Papago which prevented their closer organization, but they remained individuals, gathering in groups only on special occasions.

The neophyte might learn recitations and songs by rote from his "made father," and this in itself gave him power. Also, the animals were supposed to find him particularly pleasing during his purification and to choose this time for their visits. In this way the idea of the guardian spirit and of a form of priestly initiation were reconciled. Ultimately the neophyte was free. The informal group of ceremonial fathers received him back into the community, singing the songs that ratified his power, blowing purifying smoke over
[884] him, and finally calling him by the kinship term. The new *siakam*,
or ripe man,[15] was now eligible to take part again in community life.

881 There was another purificatory process—so like the three already
778 mentioned that it has been classed with them—the segregation of
781 girls at puberty, an ancient rite, far more widespread in the Papago area than any purification for men. It involved the same features: segregation, partial fasting, use of the scratching stick, cold baths, and the avoidance of looking at the sun or at fire.

Obviously, the power which comes upon a girl of nubile age was thought similar to that dangerous magic which men could acquire only by effort. It had the same effect of making the girl dangerous

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[15] Cf. the Keresan use of *crude* (raw) to denote those who belong to no society (Dumarest, p. 198; White, 1935, pp. 135, 167). The Zuni, according to Cushing, speak of mankind as "done, baked, ripe" and of the animals and animal gods as "raw" (Cushing, 1880–81, p. 198).

1/a [i.e., man undergoing purification after having performed a ritual act which contaminated him. —Analyst]

not only to herself but also to others until she had been purified. 881
But the ceremony in her case was negative, nullifying evil, but con- 778
ferring no positive reward. Whereas the man fasted almost to 781
starvation, the girl fasted only formally. While the man was received into the fellowship of initiates, the girl was merely freed from restrictions until she next became dangerous. The dance, with license, which followed was a thoroughly practical expedient, making the women available to the village as future mothers rather than conferring any personal benefit upon them.[16] Perhaps we might think of the psychological attitude here as similar to that of the Aztecs, which equated the child-bearing woman with the warrior.

Failure to complete the ceremony in any of these cases meant 771
danger, both to the individual and to the community. If a "ripe 781
man" did not guard and "feed" his fetish properly, "he could make us all sick." If a girl omitted her ceremony, her village might be struck by lightning. This constantly expressed fear of the misuse of power is one of the basic elements in Papago religion. Shaman, eagle killer, enemy slayer, salt pilgrim, and woman were objects of constant suspicion, lest their supernatural contacts should be improperly treated. Few groups have placed so many people in this category or demanded such rigorous purification.

The final objective of every ordeal was rain and food. The girl's ceremony had its fertility features, to aid the growth of corn. The man became a rainbringer, for, said informants, if he had been through all three purifications, he achieved the title *siiwanyi,* the word used for the rain magicians of the ruined great houses. Papago religion, oriented to the stark essentials of life, channeled all its ceremonies toward the goal expressed in the growth rituals: "Thus I shall feed my children and my relatives, coming from afar."

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[16] Sahagún, Seler, pp. 304-5.

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CEREMONIAL PRACTICES

THE Papago of former days had no house used solely for ceremonies. Their warm climate allowed them to hold most gatherings out-of-doors, but when necessary ceremonialists met in the hut occupied by the "keeper of the smoke" and his family.

SACRED HOUSES

The residence of the smoke keeper was built extra large and sometimes spoken of as the "big house." Now, when everyone, including the village leader, lives in a wattle-and-daub house of Mexican type, the "big house" is still made of brush, in the old "half-orange" shape. The keeper of the smoke lives near-by to guard it, and his wife keeps it clean.

No sacred objects are kept in the big house. It is merely a brush shelter, with open door; the writer has seen boys playing in it. However, women do not enter, except to assist in cleaning, and strangers are excluded. It is used principally for council meetings and for fermenting ceremonial liquor. Its connection with rain-making gives rise to its official name, *vdhki,* the word used for the ruins of the great-house builders.[1] It might be translated "house of waters," from *va,* or *wa* (an old root referring to moisture) and *ki* (house). However, since it is common in songs where the meter demands a short word, the term "rain house" has been adopted. This does not violate Papago forms of thought, since, say the Papago,

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[1] Russell mistranslated the term "ancient house" (*va-aki*), perhaps mistaking the connection with Casa Grande, which the Pimans regard as the abode of a rain magician ("The Pima Indians," in Bureau of American Ethnology, *Annual Report, passim*).

"all our moisture comes from the sky." The abodes of the rain gods 346
in the four directions are thought to be brush huts of this same
sort.

For the anomalous prayer-stick festival a large, roofless enclosure is built, like the structures used by the Shoshonean Indians of southern California. It is roughly made and is pulled down when the ceremony is over.

SHRINES

Papagueria has many local shrines, all very crude and some not 346
more than a cave or a stone, marking the place of some supernatural 778
event. A list of the best-known ones follows.

Santa Rosa, Akchin, Archie.—These three places share the most
elaborate of the shrines—a pile of stones surrounded by a fence of
ocotillo stems, with openings toward all four directions. The stones,
says tradition, cover a hole through which once the ocean water [773]
threatened to issue in a flood. It was stopped by the sacrifice of four
children, a boy and a girl from each moiety. They were thrown into
the hole, but remain alive underground; they are the patron supernaturals
of the locality. At a little distance from their shrine is an
olla that is said to have been put there for the first offering.

Kaka.—A hole where a great wind once entered the earth.

Poso Verde, Sonora.—A cave where the cannibal woman was suffocated by smoke, under I'itoi's directions.

Baboquiviri Mountain.—A cave where I'itoi lived while teaching his people.

Sikorhimat.—The spot where once a ceremonial clown fell dead, having run from Archie to bring a message.

Topawa.—A white rock which receives an offering of eagle down when rain is wanted.

Few of these shrines, except the "children's grave" at Santa Rosa, 778
are associated with any special ceremony, but anyone visiting them [778]
leaves an offering, generally an arrow or some tobacco, and repeats
some such invocation as the following: "I give you this; now bring
me luck." They are still honored to such an extent that the writer,
when passing near one, was bidden by her Papago companions to

778 leave a pencil, instead of an arrow, and wish that the party would have no flat tires.

SACRED OBJECTS

Sacred objects were sometimes single fetishes and sometimes collections of objects brought together through the years and kept in a ceremonial basket. Such bundles belonging to villages were generally said to be "from the beginning," but occasionally new finds have been added, notably the slate tablets, the three-quarter grooved axes of the ancient inhabitants, and the peculiar limestone formations of the district. One new village, which had no fetish, acquired some of the latter and ultimately displayed them at the rainmaking ceremony, as did the mother village.

Individuals had fetishes connected with dreams or purification. The shaman had special quartz crystals that were found under the direction of his guiding power. The enemy slayer kept a trophy of an Apache's hair, belt, or moccasin. The salt pilgrim treasured sea shells or pebbles. The eagle killer had the right to a designated portion of eagle down. The "meeter" of some guardian spirit often found and preserved, after his supernatural experience, a claw or a feather, or he might carve an image of his visitant or pick up a stone which seemed to resemble it. Even an unauthorized person sometimes came upon a peculiarly shaped stone and tried out its powers. If he were "meant to have it," he would later receive a visitant.[2]

[415] The proper way to keep fetishes was in an oblong basket of twilled yucca.[3] This was called *wáca,* in distinction from the ordinary coiled basket, *hoa,* and was, say the Papago, the usual container in former days. It resembles some old Yaqui forms,[4] but is even more common in Mexico and South America.[5] A fetish owner kept his basket packed with eagle down and deer tails, and periodically he "fed" the sacred object with cane cigarettes and even with

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[2] Cf. Hopi fetish stones, Parsons, 1933, p. 67.

[3] For description and illustration of this basket see Kissell, p. 170.

[4] Hough, Pl. 256.

[5] A duplicate of this basket may be seen in the exhibit from Guiana in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.

food.[*] He must not open or move the basket without a ritual, which 778 was the recitation of part of his ceremony for food or purification. The Papago believed that unauthorized people, reciting only a few words of such a ceremony before a village fetish, could produce a flood.

Because of the flimsy construction of the ceremonial house, the village fetish was often kept hidden in the hills and was brought back with special rites just before a ceremony. It was always hidden in winter when the people made their yearly move, when they hid or buried all their property which they could not carry with them. It was safer, however, to keep no sacred objects near human habitations. "Their power might get loose," and sickness or flood would be the result. The writer observed this fear in connection with a "scalp basket," kept by descendants of an old enemy slayer. The basket was kept in a far corner of the yard, concealed in many wrappings and inside a barrel. Permission was reluctantly given the writer to unwrap and even to photograph it, but the owners shut themselves inside the house so as to be out of reach of danger.

OFFERINGS

Eagle down was the offering *par excellence,* placed with a fetish, 778 deposited at a shrine, or worn at a ceremony. It was always plucked 782 ritually, the act being so dangerous that purification was required of the eagle killer. Other people traded for the down and tried to keep a little on hand as much-prized wealth. Rarely, however, did they make it into prayer sticks. The Papago statement was that the down had value on account of its resemblance to clouds and that it was attached to a stick only to keep it from touching the ground. Such sticks were made for the prayer-stick festival, for an eagle killing and for the salt expedition.

The usual stick was unpainted, about four inches long, pointed 778 at one end so that it could be driven into the ground and having a notch at the other end. One or two feathers were fastened with sinew to each end of a cotton string. The string was put through

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[*] Cf. the feeding of Zuni fetishes (Parsons, 1939, p. 324), amd Cochiti (Goldfrank, p. 69).

778 the notch at the top of the stick and tied around the neck of the stick with another string. Under certain circumstances turkey down replaced eagle down, but the feathers of no other birds were used.

At the harvest ceremony all prayer sticks were painted blue (the Zuni color for men). After the salt gathering at Santa Rosa they were painted both blue and yellow. Occasionally a stick two feet long was "planted" in behalf of a group. This was done at the prayer-stick festival at Quitovaca, where the stick was painted with a red spiral, and by the salt gatherers from Akchin, who tied a red cloth around it.

Though there was a word for bird down, there was no word for prayer stick, which was simply called "sacred object," as were the fetishes.

Deer tails were as desirable as eagle down for accompanying a fetish. The scalp basket unpacked by the writer contained four of them. They should be, if possible, from the black-tailed deer, the white-tailed variety having "no power." Tails from a deer ritually killed were important ceremonial objects, used at the cleansing ceremony and in curing "deer sickness." However, the tail of any
[438] deer formed a valuable offering, and hunters did a thriving trade in them.

772 Tobacco was offered in the form of cane cigarettes; their ceremonial
825 name was "reed joint." Each consisted of a section of
276 *Phragmites communis,* three or four inches long and filled with *Nicotiana attenuata,* the variety grown by the Papago. If no reeds were obtainable, corn husks were used as cigarette wrappers. Cigarettes were always smoked before being deposited, the votary taking four puffs, in the four directions, then stating his wish.

782 Beads, usually of turquoise, were a less common offering, but highly valued. The request for offerings made in behalf of one village fetish ran: "Bring your valuable things, eagle down, deer tails, and beads."

782 Certain occasions demanded the use of corn meal, which must
243 be made of "flatheaded corn" (two ears growing together so that each had one flat side).[7] Such meal was most lavishly used at the prayer-stick festival, and it is significant that Navitcu, the cere-

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[7] Cf. Mason, 1918, p. 22.

monial clown of this occasion, is said to have taught the Papago 782
to summon him at other times by placing corn meal in his hand. 243
They invite all workers for the festival in this way, and, moreover,
special officials make a corn meal "road" for the dancers in the
Pueblo manner. Officials also sprinkle corn meal on all who enter
the ceremonial enclosure, and at least once on all the inhabitants
of every participating village. Corn meal is also used on other
occasions. Holding a pinch of it in the hand is the method for summoning
the shaman and the curing singer, and it is strewn on the
ocean by the salt pilgrims.

PURIFICATION

All who took part in a ceremony, or at least the important offi- 783
ciants, observed continence, fasted, and finally took a cold bath to
remove the supernatural influence. Cold water was the accepted
Papago method of purification. It was obtained by allowing water
to stand in the wind in a porous jar, thus being cooled by evapora-
tion. A burdensome duty of the women folk belonging to any
ceremonialist was the fetching of fresh water and making a new
porous jar.

Fasting was raised by the Papago to extreme importance. During 783
food ceremonies the officiants abstained from meat, grease, and salt 785
in the Pueblo manner, but the power ceremonies demanded self-
denial amounting almost to starvation. One may conjecture that
these Spartan measures required as much endurance as did the run-
ning demanded of visionaries. They served the practical purpose of
fitting a youth for the rigorous life of a desert hunter and warrior.
Women also fasted and ran, though to a lesser degree. It would
seem that the Desert People, in whose lives food and running were
recurrent necessities, had elevated these prosaic needs to cere-
monial virtues.

Blowing tobacco smoke upon someone was a milder form of 783
purification. It was used by the shaman to cure illness and also by 276
those who purified a man who had been in contact with supernat-
ural power. In the old rituals blowing tobacco smoke is a form of
prayer which placed a man in contact with the supernatural.

X539
There I could do nothing.
It was my cigarette smoke
Circling about.
It turned him (the rain god)
And set him facing me.

CEREMONIAL GESTURES

788 The Papago, when touching a sacred object, made the gesture of breathing in from it. It was also usual to pass it from head to foot over the body. Sometimes they touched special parts of the body with it: the forehead, the breast, the two shoulders, and the abdomen. A similar gesture was used in marking a child with white clay at the naming ceremony and when purifying a woman after puberty or childbirth.[8] It is so like the Catholic crossing that one wonders in reading the first accounts of the Spanish missionaries whether the many Indian converts were using a new Christian gesture or the pagan gesture which was traditional with them.

788 822 823 All Papago ceremonies were oriented, and in describing one the informant always stooped and drew a diagram in the sand showing where each participant was placed. East, the most sacred direction, was associated with the color white; north, the direction of evil, with black; west and south were variously associated with red, blue, and yellow. The circuit was counterclockwise, and the ceremonial number was four.

COSTUMES AND PARAPHERNALIA

292 The Papagos made little attempt to devise ceremonial costumes, for they did not have the materials for them. But they selected the dancers, male or female, for their long, glossy hair, which was worn loose. The exposed parts of their bodies were painted with patterns and colors, which differed for each ceremony. Only on the occasion of the prayer-stick festival was the rule of simplicity in dress abandoned. There the singers were masked and wore a sort of kilt, which seems to have resembled those used in the Pueblos; the masked Navitcu clowns wore feather headdresses.

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[8] See Underhill, 1939, p. 157.

All the material elaboration went into the making of parapher- 293
nalia. With amazing ingenuity the Papago used ocotillo wands, cactus ribs, raw cotton, and deerhide to construct handsome effigies for their dancers to carry. Imitation birds, clouds, mountains, rainbows, and even stuffed deer mounted on a platform were properties for the dancers of the great prayer-stick festival.

DANCING

There were several styles of dancing, which will be mentioned 535
in detail in connection with each ceremony. At the rain dance, most widespread and popular of all, the dancers clasped hands and revolved in a circle, counterclockwise. At the girl's puberty dance there were two rows of dancers who stepped backward and forward facing each other. At the prayer-stick festival the dancing was in Pueblo style, the men stamping with alternate feet, the women bouncing slightly, with knees bent and elbows held close to the body.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The Papago choice of musical instruments was very small. To 534
accompany a song they had a basket drum, which was nothing more than a common house utensil turned upside down—"because we were poor and did not carry much with us." They had gourd rattles, originally any dried gourd, its stem used as handle and its own seeds within it making the crepitation. They had scraping sticks—notched sticks, slightly curved, over which another stick was rubbed with a rattling noise. But they elaborated a surprising number of techniques with these rudimentary instruments.

The basket drum could be either struck or rubbed. It could be struck by the hand to obtain a dull sound or by a stick to get a sharp one. A stick could be rubbed over the surface to give a slight rattling sound, but for certain modern songs a knife is specified for this purpose. Conversely, for other songs the direction was: "a knife must not be used."

These two methods of using the basket drum, striking and rub-

534 bing, were generally used alternately during one song or dance. It was almost unthinkable that the extremely short songs should be sung less than four times, and usually the directions were: "Rub for the first two repetitions; tap for the last two." Special dance movements corresponded to the rubbing and the tapping.

The notched stick also allowed for variations. It might be short, with the notches far apart, producing a brief, harsh scraping sound, interrupted by long pauses. The stick might be long, when the notches would be far apart and, naturally, there would be more scraping and fewer pauses. Both kinds were used in the so-called "scraping-stick songs," which were to promote growth and drive away evil. This combination of long and short strokes is the nearest Papago approach to an orchestra. But the notches may be close together; in this case the resulting sound is much less harsh and
753 broken. Such a stick is used for curing sore eyes, caused by the little blind man (*pihuri*). The scraper for the notched stick is ordinarily a short peeled stem of greasewood. But for the cleansing dance and the deer-sickness dance it must without fail be a deer's bone. The main reason for this is magical, but the sharp bone makes a sound very different from that made by the rounded stick.

There are several techniques for scraping. The motion is usually downward, but in the scraping-stick songs there are both downward and upward strokes, resulting in a sort of rhythm. In the curing song the stroke must be always down so as "to brush away the sickness." The effect is more staccato and monotonous. The scraping stick may be rested upon the ground or upon a basket drum, which acts as resonator. Here, also, the motion varies with each two repetitions of the song. For the first two repetitions there is no scraping; the stick may be either rubbed on the basket or tapped. For the second two there is scraping, in a specified direction.

The gourd rattle allows of less variation. The original faint sound made by the seeds has been succeeded by the louder clash of pebbles, which are inserted in the gourd. Some up-to-date song leaders have discarded the gourd and placed the pebbles in a small baking-powder can, through which a stick is thrust for a handle. The difference in sound quality is startling.

Only two motions are used in manipulating the rattle—it may be held horizontally and rotated counterclockwise, or it may be 534 jerked up and down vertically. The first motion gives a blurred, continuous sound; the second, a series of clashes. Even a tyro can recognize the difference and at a distance can tell by it whether the rattle is horizontal, indicating that the dancers are walking, or vertical, when they are leaping. The shamans, whose special instrument the rattle is, have worked out even greater variations in the shaking technique.

SINGING

The writer is not equipped to comment on Papago musical style; 533 this part of the work must await the analysis of the records taken. But a few observations on the manner of the singing may be of interest.

Voice production in singing includes almost all the tricks forbidden to the white student of the art. Singers take breath at any point they wish, each person's choice being a different one. They leap from head notes to chest notes and back again. They slur notes, beginning a quarter tone or more away and ending as far off in the other direction. The round, rich tone desired by our singers is no part of their scheme. Hoarseness, falsetto, and piercing yells are all admitted. The definition of a good singer refers, not to the quality of his voice, but to his memory for songs. But though the sounds vary, the rhythm is always true. The mass of undisciplined voices, pulsing in perfect time with the motions of the scraping stick has its own effect. The scraping-stick motions change constantly, the players retarding and accelerating according to the words of the song, and the singers and dancers follow them.

In a large chorus there is a very rudimentary approach to harmony. A few women who are considered specially skilled maintain a note a third or so above the keynote of the song and hold it without variation. "The ladies straighten out the song," said a girl who was trying to learn the trick. Miss Densmore has mentioned this technique.[*]

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[*] Densmore, p. 14.

RITUAL ORATORY

537 Most ceremonies, whether for food or for power, include a set
x 796 speech which describes the desired event in all its perfection and thus brings it about. The speeches recount an experience in the first person, and, say the ceremonialists, they must have been made by I'itoi. However, since they seem often the words of some humble man, addressing powers unknown to I'itoi, it is more probable that this is a ceremonial pattern to which different cultural scraps have been fitted.

As a group, such recitations are known as *s'hámpatak* (wise or perhaps, esoteric speeches), but each set has its own title, differing with the locality. Thus, there are mocking bird speeches, so called because of their eloquence and used at the rainmaking ceremony at Santa Rosa, wind speeches, used for the same ceremony at Pisinimo, salt speeches, war speeches, hunt speeches.

All are in the custody of ceremonialists, who teach them only to selected individuals. Those for the food ceremonies belong to the village officials and are handed down, supposedly, to successors in the male line. However, the process does not always work smoothly. Officials have been known to put off the task too long and die ceremonially intestate. Some have refused instruction entirely, and some have instructed a favorite heir, whom the council later refused to sanction.

As a result, some villages have a complete and elaborate set of speeches; some have fragments; some have none. Bereft localities may send long distances for a speaker, yet there is hesitation about teaching a man without hereditary rights. The writer has known a village council to appoint some likely young man and send him for instruction, either to a ceremonialist of his own village or to one of some friendly dialect group. An ambitious nobody would hesitate to ask the privilege. The learner must make his request with a handful of cornmeal and must learn on the system of hearing the whole speech through without interruptions. Perhaps it was because of this difficulty of method that several young men besought the writer to teach them from her notes.

Power speeches, also, are localized and varied. Each ceremonial 537
"father" has his own set, perhaps learned in his own village, perhaps 796x
in another. All are considered equally efficacious, but a neophyte 184
is likely to choose a "father" from his own locality and so perpetuate the local variation. Thus, Anegam has an elaborate set of salt speeches, while the other villages manage with almost none. Komarik and Santa Rosa have war speeches so different that they seem like two halves of a ceremonial whole. The latter village, in fear of losing its ritual altogether, held a mock war raid and initiated two young men, the sons of famous scalpers. The garbled manner in which one of them recited the ritual gave ample illustration of the way in which whole passages may be altered or lost.

Esoteric speeches are couched in "soft words," or standardized 537
circumlocutions which avoid naming an animal or object. Thus, 195
Coyote is "the woolly comrade"; the sun, "the shining traveler"; 796x
the stones which hold a pot on the fire are the "three shamans." So far-fetched are some of these expressions that an interpreter with no ritual knowledge cannot understand them. One is reminded of the standardized poetic titles in Beowulf and Homer. However, in the writer's opinion the Papago expressions are not mere metaphor; they may well be related to the taboo against the use of [551]
personal names and may be meant as respectful treatment of the supernaturals and even the objects which can influence a ceremony. "Salt pilgrims" carry the attitude so far as to use roundabout terms in ordinary conversation. There is, in fact, a "salt language," [198]
parallel to the "war language" of the Apache,[10] and of some Plains tribes. We might hazard the idea that the peaceful Papago have transferred this peculiar form of respect from war to another dangerous enterprise. Nor is it unrelated to the circumlocutions by which many peoples avoid the names of the dead.

A ceremonial speech has not only a peculiar vocabulary but also a peculiar form of delivery. It is pronounced in a low voice and entirely without gesture. Its mumbled words are almost inaudible, but it is given, not for its effect on the audience, but as a magic spell. Nevertheless, there are two distinct speaking techniques. The

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[10] Opler, p. 210.

537 195 x796 most usual one places extreme emphasis on the last word of a sentence or phrase, generally the verb, while all the others are pronounced in a barely audible monotone. This is used for all speeches except the "wise" ones connected with the salt pilgrimage. The latter are in two parts. The introduction describes the approach, through tobacco smoke, to "Him, my guardian," and is pronounced like the average ritual speech. When the smoke has done its work and the suppliant finds himself before the supernatural, there begins a form of delivery peculiar to the salt ritual. This is the "throwing words," a monotonous panting, in a low voice and on the same
[171] note, separating the syllables and giving to each equal value. A similar form of delivery is mentioned among Yuman peoples for all ceremonial speeches, notably those for war.[11]

537 x796 A ceremony may also include an informal speech of admonition made by some prominent man on the practical phases of the gathering. At the rainmaking feast the people were urged not to misbehave while drinking; at the war preparation they were reminded how necessary it was to avenge their dead relatives. These talks were akin to long monologues addressed by a father to his children and by the keeper of the smoke at the council meeting. Such long-winded sermons were an institution in the area,[12] and they occur as
[171] far south as the Aztec,[13] where they are expected to be "a thing rare and elegantly composed—like a precious stone." [14]

With the Papago these talks fall from the high poetic heights of the rituals, and their prosiness shows the impromptu manner of their composition. However, they were not composed anew for each occasion. The same man was appointed speaker from year to year, and he finally standardized his speech, so that ultimately most of his hearers knew it by heart. The style of delivery for these prose sermons was like that of the war speeches, with emphasis on the last word of a sentence, but they were not recited in the low voice of rituals. The audience was meant to listen and the writer has heard them shouted at the top of a speaker's lungs.

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[11] Forde, p. 209; Spier, p. 168.

[12] Forde, pp. 28, 209; Maricopa, Spier, p. 156; California, Kroeber, p. 501; Navajo, Apache, Reichard, p. 109.

[13] Sahagún, Jourdanet, tr., pp. 332-90.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 452.

SONG CYCLES

533 The songs of any ceremony are in sets, each describing the desired event in different phrases. Hunting songs may picture the whole process of tracking and killing the deer; growing songs, the development of corn. They are sung in series by a chorus who have learned them from the mythteller. The myth may be recited separately, or, perhaps, not at all.

533 184 However, the conception of dreaming having impinged on that of ritual recitation, the old song cycles no longer remain intact. One man may dream a new song and add it to the series. Since often the foundation myth is not learned, the new song may be interpolated at any point, whether logical or not. Finally, the original songs are pushed out.

Some old informants may still be found who assert that they know the order of I'itoi's songs, but on comparing their version with the myth, the claim was usually found invalid. Most singers do not know the complete cycle. They pick up songs wherever they can and use them to fill out the number.

But songs may easily be learned without dreaming. A man who has heard them often may finally know enough for a night's singing, though not in a logical series. Ultimately, he will have a dream which authorizes him to use this series officially. Also he may learn from relatives who sing at home, or may pick up songs during the days of drinking, when even shamans' songs are not kept secret. The result is a great efflorescence of songs and a confusion of cycles. No two singers can be found whose series are the same. The custom is, when a cycle is needed, to invite several men and let each sing all he knows. If these are not enough on the subject, anyone else may be invited to contribute a song.

Naturally, with such variety, there is no definite order. However, there are certain songs on each subject which are known as beginning or ending songs. Certain songs are sung before midnight, and some should come near dawn. Although every singer knows a beginning and an ending song, the other classifications are often disregarded.

In any series, the songs need not have the same tune. The style of 533

533 repetition, however, is fixed: sometimes the whole song is repeated; sometimes from the middle point to the end, then from the beginning to the end. Many series have a standard introduction and final phrase, and some informants thought that all should have them. These phrases always have the same tune and the same words, the words being now entirely untranslatable. Some are as follows:

Song	*Beginning*	*Ending*
Girl's puberty		Mim or mum
Scalp	He, he!	Tángwi [15]
Corn		Íro a'áro
Wíikita		Tcúkuta tcúkuh
Scraping stick	Hi'híanai hu!	Hítcia háhina

533 194 Papago songs contain extra vocables which lengthen the word to fit the musical line. With the same object, they also shorten words and frequently omit prepositions and auxiliaries entirely. A definite system of phonetic change is practiced in singing. Theoretically the stop consonants are changed to the corresponding nasals (*p* to *m*, *t* to *n*, *k* to *ng*), so that the word *iipetak* (heart) becomes *iimuinanga.*[16] Such transmutations make the words of a song, when sung, entirely different from spoken Papago. It was necessary, in transcribing, always to write the sung version first, then the spoken version, and finally the translation. An interpreter unfamiliar with the song might be completely at sea. Especially if the song contained archaic words, he might have to labor long with the informant before straightening out the spoken version.

533 193 The words, even when interpreted, often differ considerably from modern forms. Tense is rarely expressed, and the translator is always at liberty to use present or past at will. Number is also not expressed. Sometimes the subject of a sentence is lacking, and the singer may explain: "It says 'he sits on a mountain and rubs his belly,' but everyone knows that it means a brown bear."

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[15] The scalp-song ending is found also in the Mohave salt songs, where it is equally untranslatable.

[16] The writer, in common with several others, wrote all top consonants as intermediates, since they have practically that sound in modern Papago. However, Dr. J. Alden Mason, author of a forthcoming Papago grammar (University of California Press) advises that they should be surds and sonants and that only the latter make the change.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

The song consists of very few lines, repeated from four to sixteen times. 533 The lines themselves may consist almost wholly of standard poetic expressions, usually in contrasted pairs, such as morning-night, east-west, running-standing, rain-cloud, white-black, and far-near. Certain tricks of vocabulary are very noticeable, such as the incessant use of the word *kamhu* (yonder, out of sight). The word has the sonorous quality and poetic implication which recommends it as an introduction, and one song out of ten seems to use it. Almost the same can be said of *mïhk* (far), and the words for wind, cloud, and mountain appear so often that one might accuse the inexpert singer of feeling that when he has put these into a sentence he has poem enough.

TRANSLATION

A word may be added as to the translation given here, both for 128 speeches and songs. There has been no effort to use archaic language for artistic effect, but certain Papago constructions lend themselves to expressions in old English. There is a verbal auxiliary in the past which can most accurately be translated by our form "did." "Then did he swiftly go" is correctly Papago in construction and word order. Such semi-obsolete words as "thereon" and "therewith" are also literal translations. Papago would go farther and say "him-on" and "him-with." Though the translation could not follow all these constructions and remain readable, it was thought desirable to suggest them whenever the English would permit.

The style of vocabulary being thus determined, it was carried out wherever choice was possible. An expression indicating approval may be rendered "all right" or "it is well." There seems no special virtue in choosing the modern colloquialism rather than an expression in harmony with the others used.

The word order has also been rendered as accurately as easy 128 reading permits. A Papago sentence has the verb at the end, with 193 all the other elements placed before it except the nominal subject. A typical arrangement would be: "Then did he yonder to him-ward swiftly go, that youth." A number of such sentences in English would be tiresome, but it has been thought best to suggest the ar-

128 rangement as frequently as possible, even though it is not con-
193 sistently maintained.

Many of the five hundred songs collected seem no more than re-
533 arrangements of the beloved words "rain," "wind," and "moun-
424 tain." It is obvious that in a society where dreaming was practically compulsory, many a man must have grasped at some slight alteration in tune or words in order to be able to call a song his own. In fact, dreamers have passionately defended their rights when the writer suggested that some song seemed a repetition of one already transcribed. "Can't you see, it says mountain instead of hill and green instead of red? It's *my* song."

533 Some songs, however, are vignettes of desert life, as clear in contour as a Chinese poem. The brown crickets hopping among the squash vines, the deer drinking where the water drips beside the datura blossoms, and the birds chattering on the ground that the deer have trampled are strikingly chosen details which evoke a whole picture. Some are even humorous, for every phase of the subject must be vivified, even the clumsiness of an inept hunter or the antics of a turtle at courting. Papago ceremonial art, it would seem, found its best expression in words. The scanty, colorless costumes, the background of empty desert or houses like earthen mounds, had beauty only in their stark simplicity. But the very passion of need sharpened songs and oratory to a vividness which is often poetry.

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PART TWO

COMMUNAL CEREMONIES

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THE RAINMAKING CEREMONY

x 796 COMMUNAL ceremonies had to do with food and with the rain necessary for its production. The most important of them all was that which "brought down the clouds" in July; this is still widely held among the northern Papago. Here it is described as having occurred in the youth of old informants.

Rainmaking magic consisted in fermenting and drinking a liquor
[273] made from the fruit of the giant cactus (*Cereus giganticus*). The
name of the ceremony is *náwai't* from *nawai* (liquor) and *ta* (the suffix which means to make).[1] The idea is that the saturation of the
[789] body with liquor typifies and produces the saturation of the earth
with rain. Every act of the procedure is accompanied with ceremonial singing or oratory describing rain and growth.

PREPARATION

273 The festival took place in July, which marks the beginning of the rainy season and of the Papago year. For three weeks previous to this ceremony the giant cactus fruit is ripe on all the southern hill slopes, and every family left its winter quarters and went to camp in some grove to which it had a more or less hereditary right. The women of the family made a tour of their territory every day, filling their baskets with the fruit pulp and leaving the shells, with their red lining uppermost, "to draw the rain." Since the pulp will

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[1] The Pima were still holding the drinking festival in 1902, though Russell calls it "a drunken orgy," "with the element of sacredness at a minimum." Russell, pp. 170–71.

273 not keep in the hot weather, what was gathered was cooked the same day and reduced to seeds, jam, or syrup. It was this boiled syrup which was used for making the liquor, and each housewife sealed it in jars to be ready for the rainmaking ceremony.

273 x539 773 At this time the old man of the family recounted the origin of the liquor making. This is one of the miscellaneous incidents inserted during Elder Brother's guardianship of the first people, but in it Elder Brother has no very prominent part, and it has the air of being incorporated forcibly into the story.

A baby was deserted by his mother who was so enthusiastic about playing the game of double ball that she never nursed her child. The infant, after following her in vain, finally sank into the earth and came up on a mountain slope as a giant cactus. The people searched for it and finally the Crow found it. The Crow flew to its summit (the giant cactus is often 20 to 30 feet high); it nibbled the fruit and vomited the red pulp into a basket. The people then put this pulp into a jar and said to it: "You know what to do." The pulp began to ferment, singing:

"Here I stand,
The wind is coming toward me,
Shaking.

Here I stand,
A cloud is coming toward me,
Shaking."

When it was fermented, all the birds and animals, who were then men, painted their faces and bodies and came to drink. The quarrels and adventures which occurred were the cause of present colorings.(1)

Because there was so much drunkenness, the people or Elder Brother decided to do away with the giant cactus. They sent Badger to throw the seeds into the ocean, but Badger met Coyote, who persuaded him to open his hand and show the seeds. Coyote then struck his hand a blow and scattered the seeds, which fell in clumps. Since the wind was blowing from the south, they were blown against the southern side of the hills, where the cactus now grows. Elder Brother finally gave women the tall stick which is used for gathering the cactus fruit and the head-ring of agave fibre, with which they balance the basket on their heads. He ordained that cactus liquor should be

drunk yearly in order to bring rain, but that there must always be 293
a speech of admonition forbidding the people to quarrel or misbehave 539x
when they drink.(1) 773

The families returned from the cactus camp to the summer villages, 221
where they would do their planting as soon as they had 796
"pulled down the clouds." In old days no planting was allowed until
after the ceremony. At present, the villages in the southern part
of the reservation no longer hold it, and those in the north hold [184]
theirs seriatim, so that one man, if he wished, could attend all in
turn.

The date of the festival was discussed by the elders of each village. 796x
Then a formal meeting was held at which announcement was
made that the festival would take place in four days. Everyone was
instructed to bring his share of syrup, within two days' time. At [202]
Kaka there was a call from the house tops to this effect:

CALL TO BRING SYRUP

Hurry! Hither bring, each of you, his syrup. [539]x
Soon we shall make liquor!
Soon it will ferment,
Soon we shall drink,
Soon it will rain.(3)

Any village which possessed sacred objects brought them from
their hiding place and placed them with the liquor during fermentation.
Santa Rosa, whose sacred basket contains a long string of
eagle feathers, hung them up outside the council house. Pisínimo,
which keeps hidden in the desert a basket containing eagle down
and various fetishes, sent a man to get this basket and bring it to
the ceremonial house. They also sent runners to the related villages, [202]
asking for gifts of eagle down and deer tails, which, when [431]
brought, were offered to the basket to increase its power. The
keeper of the smoke, at the meeting where the festival was announced,
gave directions in the verbose, colloquial style which is so [195]
different from the recited rituals.

2. Know that you are to appoint youths who will run about to all 796x
the houses and request deer tails, eagle down, and beads. One must 539x
go to the shaman and summon him to come here in the morning, to

x796 make liquor. The youths must be sure to go, to take the message
x639 and to bring the deer tails, eagle down, and beads. They should go some time in the night, but those who are not fast runners will at least arrive in the morning. The shaman will get here when the sun is so high (two hours). By that time, all of you will already have brought your syrup.(1)

THE FERMENTATION OF LIQUOR

x796 According to tradition, it was the head man of the village who
273 should know the rainmaking ritual and should preside at the fermentation of the liquor. If he was not fitted for the task, the elders chose a man who knew the speeches, calling him by the title He Who Desires Liquor. He passed his knowledge on to a male relative, just as did other functionaries. This man received the contributions of syrup and sent messengers to fetch the water with which it was to be mixed. Half and half was the usual proportion. He poured syrup and water into large jars in the council house, adjuring it:

x[539] Be strong!
Let us get well drunk!
Hither bring the wind and its cloudiness.(1)

At Pisinimo the syrup must be cleansed by a shaman before it was set to ferment, since it might have been subject to the influence of a menstruating woman. The shaman blew into the jar, then he took a length of reed or a hollow weed stalk, put one end into the jar and blew smoke into the other end. This was repeated four times(1).

Then the syrup was set to ferment. Some eight or ten large jars were provided, set in holes dug in the earthen floor of the council house and lined with dry grass. A small fire was built to keep an even temperature, and a curtain was hung at the door of the house to keep out drafts. As the liquor maker filled each jar, he might address it:

x[539] 4. I shall pour you in.
You will draw your good wind and clouds.(4)

The liquor was mixed about noon and was allowed to ferment for two nights. By the end of the second night it should have been ready to drink, and if it was not, witchcraft was suspected.

796x
273

The liquor maker appointed two or more men to watch the fermentation. If it was too rapid they added water, and if too slow, liquor from another jar. There was an official taster, known as Thin Lips or Squirrel Mouth, because his lips must be especially sensitive. In some places he was a warrior who had slain an enemy, but in others this was thought dangerous, since he might not have guarded his scalp basket properly and thus be subject to accident. The men guarding the liquor worked in shifts, so that it should never be alone and subject to evil influences. Miss Densmore quotes songs sung by these men,[2] but the writer did not obtain any.

While the liquid was fermenting inside the ceremonial house, the people were expected to dance outside in order to assist the process. The following are calls made by the crier to summon them.

CALL TO SING WHILE LIQUOR FERMENTS

(Santa Rosa)

796x
539x
273

Our fire has been lit, and the sun has gone down;
Our fire has been lit, and the sun has gone down.
You have eaten,
Come together and follow our ancient custom,
Come together and do your part
So the medicine man can see into the clouds.
This is not the beginning.
Thus we have always done and thus we will always do.(12)

CALL TO SING WHILE LIQUOR FERMENTS

(Kaka)

5. Come together!
You shall see this thing which we have always done
And what must truly happen.
Because we have planned it thus and thus have done.
Right soon, indeed, it will happen.
It will rain.
The fields will be watered.
Therein we shall drop the seed.
Seed which bears corn of all colors;
Seed which grows big.
Thus we shall do.
Thereby we shall feed ourselves;

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[2] Densmore, p. 154.

796 [273] x[539]

Thereby our stomachs shall grow big;
Thereby we shall live.(3)

[202] [822] At some villages a special messenger called at each house to summon the people. He had his face painted black and was known as the blackface. Black was thought to connote dizziness and was used also for warriors, to typify the wildness of battle. He stood at the threshold saying, "My kinsmen, come help us to sing that we may pull down the clouds." One informant, a good singer, said that he then always turned to her and requested: "My sister, now you must help us. It will be only two nights, and then you can rest"(26).

When the singers arrived, they were again instructed:

x[539]

6. Now here you have assembled;
Now thus we shall do!
With our singing we shall pull down the rain.(4)

x 796 533 At the council house any sacred objects owned by the village had been placed on display; and, if there was nothing more, at least there was a tuft of eagle down over each door, because "everybody keeps a little eagle down." In the center of the dance place was a small fire, from which cigarettes could be lighted. A large fire would "scare away the clouds." The old men who knew the songs sat outside the council house and sang each song to make sure of words and tune. When they had decided on the first song, they called the song leader. This man had been chosen by the council for the liquor singing because of his loud voice and good memory. He held office until too old to sing and then passed on his duties to some male relative to whom he had taught the songs. Each leader generally had several unofficial assistants, with loud voices and good memories, whom he asked to follow him at the head of the line. Some old informants, both men and women, boasted of having belonged to this group, known as "those who walk ahead."

x 796 535 The leader advanced to the dance place, shaking his rattle horizontally, and began the song. The men joined him, clasping hands and stepping sideways, counterclockwise. As other voices joined in, the leader shook his rattle vertically. Gradually the women joined the circle, each placing herself between two men. There was burning rivalry among the young men who hoped to be chosen in

this way. Tradition tells how they rubbed flower perfume on their 796x
hands and carried tiny sacks of the fungus known as "earth flow- 635
ers" that are supposed to be magically attractive to deer and to [832]
women. At the end of the line of adults walked the children. The two ends of the curved line almost joined, and there might be a hundred people dancing.

Each song was sung four times or a multiple of four, and a fa- 796x
vorite song might be repeated sixteen or even thirty-two times. The 533
words were in the nature of compulsive magic, describing the com- [789]
ing of the clouds and rain over the local landscape. If any other locality was mentioned as attracting the rain, visitors from there were expected to make a gift in return for the blessing called down. A chance visitor who had no other gift with him would offer some of his clothes—in recent days, his cowboy hat.

The liquor songs [3] may once have been arranged in cycles, though there is little trace of such arrangement now except that certain songs must always be used at the beginning, certain others at the end. Different songs are used for this purpose in the various localities, suggesting that if there were cycles, each locality must have had its own. The initial songs describe the gathering of the people, the final songs, the coming of dawn. Between them come the favorite songs of the village, either traditional or composed by its own people. A man may "dream" a liquor song at any time, either while about his daily occupations or during a retreat for purification. One of the rituals for the salt pilgrimage describes the songs which came to the neophyte in those ceremonies.

> The powers I had won, beneath my bed I placed. [539]x
> I lay upon them and lay down to sleep.
> Then, in a little time, mysteriously there came to me
> Beautiful drunken songs,
> Beautiful songs for the circling [rainmaking] dance.

Any man who had dreamed a song might submit it to the elders, and if they approved they would include it in the program. One such "original" song is included in the list, to show how little originality was considered necessary for this sort of composition.

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[3] For Pima songs for this dance see Russell, *op. cit.*, pp. 292, 293, "circling songs."

INITIAL SONGS

(Tecolote)

x539 7. Come and sing!
Come and sing!
Sing for the evening!
The sun stands there. (At setting point)
Sing for it!
For the liquor delightfully sing!(20)

(Kaka)

8. The liquor is made.
The liquor is made.
It is set [to ferment].
Come to sing!
Now shortly it will foam.(3)

(Santa Rosa)

9. The sun is setting.
The mountain shadow
Covers me and stretches beyond.
In front of the great mountain
Darkness comes forth
And speedily it moves.(12)

(Original Song)

10. Songs are starting,
Thither I go.(13)

SONGS DURING THE NIGHT

11. Yonder the East Shaman sits
Rain holding by the hand,
Wind holding by the hand,
He sits.(26)

12. Will you make me a shaman?
Will you make me a shaman?
Madly singing, hand in hand,
Come then make me a shaman!(20)

13. The sun children
Are going westward,

FINAL SONGS

539x

23. Now I have sung
Now I have sung
In every direction they go
In every direction they go
Homeward!
Running!(12)

(Santa Rosa)

24. At the edge of the world
It is growing light.
The trees stand shining.
I like it.
It is getting light.(12)

25. At the edge of the world,
It is growing light.
Up rears the light.
Just yonder, the day dawns,
Spreading over the night.(12)

While the people were dancing several shamans took their places 796x
in the center of the circle, each holding eagle plumes or a tuft of 535
eagle down. Sometimes they also held the crystals used for divining. 787
It was their function to foresee the coming of rain and to announce when it might be expected. They walked up and down, holding their eagle plumes to catch the breeze. The liquor maker sometimes addressed them during the singing, to make sure that they were helping with the rainmaking, not mysteriously hindering.

THE LIQUOR MAKER TO THE SHAMAN DURING THE SINGING

26. Now it happened that I desired something. Then you will help [539]x
me. That it may happen, that which we have planned, to pull down the damp wind and pull down the clouds. They will wet the ground, and in it we shall plant.

Therewith we shall feed our children. Our friends who come from afar we shall feed therewith. Therewith we shall feel happy. Therewith we shall be alert. Therewith all shall be well.(3)

In former days the shamans often performed rain magic at this 796x
time. Tradition says that they would walk to the string of eagle 789

x 796 feathers hanging over the dance place, shake it, and cause drops to
789 fall. Or they might squeeze drops from some object held in the hand, even from crystal. "Between dances I was nursing my baby, and I fell asleep. A shaman, who was my kinsman, came with his eagle plumes and squeezed drops on my face to wake me."(26)

x 796 The dancing lasted until dawn, with pauses for smoking. These
786 pauses were, anciently, a period of license, regarded as fertility magic. No opprobrium attached to the changing of partners by married people at such a time, and many young men were famous for their exploits. Young girls, who were carefully secluded, were either not allowed to attend at all or were kept close to their mothers all night.

x 796 At dawn, the crier bade the people go home and sleep, but to
754 come again and sing on the following night. In some of the villages
273 a rabbit hunt was held on the intervening day, so that there might be a feast for guests. Otherwise, the people slept. Meanwhile, the tasters continued to test the liquor and to watch it ferment; if it showed no signs of bubbling, after forty-eight hours, some shaman would be accused of bewitching it. The writer remembers an occasion at Santa Rosa, when the liquor failed to bubble at the proper time. The village was shrouded in an atmosphere of gloom and was rife with accusations, both of sorcery and of breach of taboo. Had not fermentation finally taken place, there might have been some unpleasant incidents.

x 796 On the second night the people sang again, and toward dawn, if
756 all went well, the liquor was generally at the peak of fermentation. After the final song and before the people separated, the shamans announced when rain might be expected. If there were several shamans and each made a different prognostication, those who were mistaken were in danger of losing their reputation. There was usually some leeway in that a man might say: "I meant four days from the end of the singing, not from the beginning"; or, "I meant a heavy rain, not a light one." Then the crier sent the people home with the words:

x [539] 27. When the liquor has reached the right point, then you will eat. Then up there [at your houses] the blackface will summon you. Immediately you will assemble. We shall sit and drink.(26)

DRINKING

The "sit-and-drink" (*táhiwua k-ii*) was the title of the famous drinking ceremony when the rain gods of the four directions were invoked to wet the earth to satiety, even as the drinkers were saturated by the magic liquor. As soon as the singing was over, special orators went to the neighbor villages to invite attendance. There is some doubt as to just who was summoned on this occasion, for the pattern is a very definite one: three men were invited and were ceremonially carried to their places at three points of the compass while the local representative occupied the fourth place. Among the northern Papago, where the drinking ritual is most fully carried out, the ceremony is held in turn by four villages, Santa Rosa, Anegam, Archie, and Akchin, which lie roughly in diamond-shape formation at east, north, west, and south. These positions are occupied by their representatives at the drinking ceremony, and each village always invites the other three. Another group of villages, offshoots from the Archie group, holds the ceremony on a similar pattern, with San Pedro, Cirenaca, Coyote Village, and San Isidro.

This regional arrangement is important for the ceremony, where the leaders of the four villages seem, in some sense, to typify the rain gods of the four directions. But not all villages celebrated the ritual in sets of four, or at least there is no information for such procedure. It is possible that one informant(26) was right in stating that the representatives of the regions were sometimes shamans, all from the local village; a line from one of the speeches(32) seems to indicate the same thing. We know that in north Mexican ceremonies, where drinking provides the rainmaking magic, the shaman plays a very important part. It may be that the Papago suspicion of the shaman and constant emphasis on the importance of the village has here made a change in the pattern.

The invitation described here is that used by the Archie group of villages, where it was the keeper of the smoke who was invited. He was at his council house at dawn, awaiting the messenger, while fellow villagers gathered to hear the speeches. If the smoke keeper chanced not to "have" the speech for this particular occasion, he x 796 had with him a deputy who had learned it in the proper way, from some older relative.

The speeches, both of invitation and of response, were heredi-
[184] tary, and were somewhat different, at least in later days, for each
x796 village. At Santa Rosa they were known as mocking bird speeches;
637 at Pisinimo, they were wind speeches; at Kaka, brave speeches. A Pima from Sacaton stated that in his locality they were known as cotton blanket speeches, because of the costume of the orator. They were delivered not in the abrupt, staccato style of the war and salt speeches, but were smooth and flowing, with heavy emphasis on the last word in each sentence. They mention a supernatural about whom none of the speakers could tell anything, but who resembles the rain gods of Mexican tradition.

MOCKING BIRD SPEECHES

INVITATION TO THE SIT-AND-DRINK

(Santa Rosa)

x796
x539 28. Am not I a messenger
Something delightful desiring?

Once I knew not what to do [to make liquor].
[In my despair] at the foot of a tree prone I lay.
The wind blew.
Dust it blew along the ground and cast it upon my face.
Twigs and gravel it blew along the ground and tangled them in my hair.
Then I arose.

Of the kinsmen living around me, I bethought me.
I called them by the kinship term and wept.
Then they had pity on me.
Some liquid in the bottom of a jar they gave me.

Half dead I sat before it,
Desiring that speedily [it should ferment, but still it did not].
Then I bethought me of my home,
And thither I turned to go,
But at the door I turned again and back I came.
Then [the liquor] had pity on me,
And after two mornings gloriously it fermented.

Then of those whose desires were like to mine I bethought me, 796x
And straight to you a shining road was stretched. 539^
As I started upon it, a wind met me and rainily it blew.
It was this that I desired in what I did.
As I started again a cloudiness met me, and soft rain sprinkled.
It was this that I desired in what I did.

Then came I to your sacred house and saw
All kinds of winds there lay,
All kinds of clouds there lay,
All kinds of seeds there lay.
Seated upon them was one who powerfully touched you.
He swayed to and fro and blew out his breath.
Then came I to my sacred house and saw
All kinds of winds there lay,
All kinds of clouds there lay,
All kinds of seeds there lay.
Seated upon them was one who powerfully touched me
Swayed to and fro, and blew out his breath.
With it he blew out his winds and his clouds.
He pressed against me and left me moistened and healed
Then forth came the wild growing things.
Therewith were delightful the evenings,
Delightful the dawns.

Then hurry and in any way you can;
Come swallow my fermented liquor.(4)

ACCEPTANCE OF THE DRINKING INVITATION BY THE KEEPER OF THE SMOKE

(Anegam)

29. Then did you contemplate your land,
In every direction turning.
All over it, the heat, covering, lay.
All over it, the rubbish, covering, lay.

Lo, you saw it!
You called upon your brother's child and wept.
Then kindly to you he felt.
And a little syrup in a dipper he poured for you.
You poured it in a jar.
Around it you went on hands and knees [watching it]:

x796 Then kindly to you it felt,
x539 And well it fermented.

Then did you take a weed stalk.
You smoked it, and under your bowguard put it (as a ceremonial cigarette of invitation).
Then thus you did:
Here to me did you come and speak.
Then did I accept your summons.
I did take up my shining torch
And tread the shining road to you.
Before I had gone far,
It was my wind.
Behind me it came whirling.
To me next did it thus happen:
It was my cloudiness.
Above me did it settle,
And therewith did I shade myself, as I walked.

I did arrive
And did swallow the liquor you had made.
Gloriously did I grow dizzy;
Gloriously did I grow drunk,
There upon your land,
Holding many ceremonies.
There were some (wind and cloud) left over.
Homeward did I go taking them.
I did lie down upon them
And again lie down.(5)

x796 [202] Meantime the blackface had visited all the houses of the home village, with the invitation:

x[539] 30. Drink friend! Beautifully be drunk!
Hither bring the wind and its cloudiness.(1)

At present this tour is made on horseback. The blackface, though he still bears the title, is no longer blacked, but is now decked in cowboy finery, with all the silver horse-trappings obtainable.

The sit-and-drink took place on the dance ground outside the council house. All feathers and sacred objects had been removed before daylight, that they might not be exposed to any injury. The

Pisinimo people, before dawn, returned their sacred basket to its desert hiding place and provided it with new offerings, each man saying, as he made his contribution: 796x

31. Now do I give you my bird down [or beads or deer tail]. You are to be favorable to me. I shall be a great runner [hunter, singer, etc.]. And the rain will fall.(1) [788 539]x

All sexes and ages gathered for the sit-and-drink, both from home and from neighboring villages. The women and the girls stood under the arbor outside the council house, since at present, at least, they do not drink. The men sat cross-legged in an enormous circle. According to a Pisinimo informant only men of the *aapap* sib might sit in this circle, "since the drinking ceremony belonged to them as the cleansing dance did to the *maam* sib." The latter might drink, but they must sit behind the *aapap*.(1) At four places in the circle, corresponding to the four directions, were spread mats, and to these were invited the shamans or the officials who had been summoned by the mocking bird speech.

As each of these men seated himself, the mocking bird speaker again made him a formal address:

INVITATION TO BE SEATED IN THE DRINKING CIRCLE
(Santa Rosa)

32. But now did I come to you as messenger, friend, 539x
Something delightful desiring. 796x
Some little things I planted in my field,
Crawling on hands and knees [with my weeding hoe],
Nothing could I raise [that would ferment].
Only my child knew [the plants that were] around us.
Repeatedly did he go picking them
And in the palm of my hand he placed them.

With water I mixed them well.
Before the liquid in the jar, half dead I sat,
Desiring that speedily it should ferment.
After two mornings it felt kindly toward me,
And gloriously it fermented.

Then did I think of the shamans, wherever they might be living,
And here a shining road did stretch itself and reach to you.

x539 I followed it.
x796 Where I set forth, it was my wind that rainily blew;
Where I set forth again, it was my cloudiness that moistly sprinkled.
It was this that I desired.

To you I came.
I saw that at the base of your rain house much moisture stood!
From under it the water in short streams ran.
It pleased me.
Into a long narrow bundle I made it and I took it.
Behind you I looked.
I saw that for the heads of your mountains the mist made circlets.
Beneath them the earth lay green with moisture.
It pleased me.
Into a long narrow bundle I made it, and I took it.

I turned me back again.
I reached my rainhouse.
I saw that at the base of my rainhouse much moisture stood.
From under it the water in short streams ran.
Therewith for the heads of the mountains around me,
The mist made circlets.

In that [mist] for you the red liquor I dipped and poured.
I having drunk, gave to you, I pulled you forward and set you in the circle.

You swallowed and were gloriously drunk
Then was I not ungenerous with beautiful talk and with beautiful singing.
Thus vying together, we made an end.

Then did I go gathering up the remains of the feast
And to my former camping place I went.
I lay down.
The remains of the feast did I leave here.
And again in my former camping place did I lie down.
There, after two mornings a wind arose,
Well knowing whither it should blow.
On the place of our feasting did it beautifully rain,
As much as was needed.

Then hurry, and, in any way you can, come drink my fermented liquor.(4) 796x [539]x

The representative of each direction was then carried to his place, and his fellow townsmen arranged themselves around him until a circle was formed four or five deep. Before they drank, the liquor maker or some influential man chosen for the purpose, made a speech of admonition, warning against riotousness. This speech was highly necessary, since the calendar stick records many deadly quarrels which arose at such times, and several villages "drank their liquor with blood."

The speech was informal prose, spoken in a loud voice, with emphasis on the last word in the sentence or phrase. [537] 796x 539x

SPEECH OF ADMONITION BY THE LIQUOR MAKER

(Kaka)

33. I have made this liquor that you may drink and be happy. Very beautifully you will get drunk. Very happily you will get drunk. Let no one be angry: let no one raise his hand to strike. If someone comes from a distance, keep watch of his horse for him. Tie the horse; put the saddle in your house; put the bridle in your house; put the spurs in your house. When he comes to himself, wherever he may be, he will take his horse; he will take his saddle; he will take his bridle. His spurs he will take. So he will come happily to his home and happy will be the liquor maker.(3)

SPEECH OF ADMONITION BY AN INFLUENTIAL CITIZEN

(Santa Rosa)

34. I am going to speak to you a little, my relatives and friends. Today the time has again arrived when you will all listen to this good thing. Everywhere this speech is being made, to the men and to the boys. You must believe this. This is our purpose. For this the liquor is made: that you may feel happy; that you may drink;. that you may talk beautifully; that you may sing beautifully; that all may be well.

Now, when you see each other here, let no one speak ill to his kinsmen and his friends. Some whom we have seen in other years are not here now. And, when the time comes, some of us, too, will not be among the living. Therefore, this year, while we are together, let us be happy. Let no one misbehave, for we are not here for that.

Whoever established this liquor drinking for us, did so that we might ask for rain. That is its purpose. For we have no rivers and therefore we must obtain rain. This is the belief of all our kinsmen.

×796 ×539 It was not we who established this [feast]. I'itoi gave it to us, that all might be well and that good might come from it.

Let none of you injure anyone's property. Let none steal any property. When [the feast] is over, each man will take his goods and will come to his house. Thus it shall be well with all of us. If any evil-minded man steals property, that is not right. And if any of you fight, that is not right. You will do well if no one fights, for [fighting] is not good.

Not one of us can see when our lives may end. But now we can all look upon each other and feel that the end is far off and that [for us] this festival will come again. Now we are happy but we do not know whether all of us shall see this [feast] again, as we see it now. Some of us may die and never reach another year. Or, perhaps, all of us shall reach it and again shall see each other. This, [I] think, is good for all of you to know and to remember. Therefore I tell you this good thing.

We do not know who [first] made this speech. We do not know who instituted the custom. It was none of us. It had its beginning long ago. He who established it is nowhere to be found. This custom started from a distant beginning, and thence it has continued.

You must all remember this speech, because everywhere this good talk is given. All of you always listen, at a drinking feast, to what the speaker tells you. You all know that this is the only proper way. Thus, all shall be well; all shall end well. You will go home, you will reach your houses. You will talk freely and beautifully, you will sing freely and beautifully. Happily you will arrive.

Here I will finish what I must say to you and what you must know.(15)

×796 After the speech of admonition, the liquor was brought from the ceremonial house. The official liquor maker remained inside, but he appointed two, four, or eight young men as cupbearers, to hold their position until middle age, when new men would be chosen. Each cupbearer carried an enormous watertight willow basket of liquor and a clay or gourd cup. If there were eight, two of them went to the man at the east, two to the north, two west, and two south.

These representatives were for the time being in the position of the raingods themselves, treated with reverence, and expected to work beneficent magic. Each of the four, as the basket was presented him, dipped his fingers into it, ran them four times counterclockwise around the rim, and held them up, letting the drops fall like rain. After this he was served by the cupbearers. If there were two standing in front of him, they passed each other before starting around the circle, one clockwise, one counterclockwise. 796x

The cupbearer dipped the cup into the liquid, saying to each man:

Drink, friend! Get beautifully drunk! [539]x
Hither bring the wind and the clouds.(4)

The recipient, as he took the cup, called the cupbearer by the kinship term.

Small villages, with less than eight cupbearers, could not serve all four chief representatives at the same time. But the arrangement of two cupbearers, starting at the same point to go in opposite directions around the circle must always be maintained. If there were four cupbearers, two started at the east and two at the west; if only two, both started at the east.

The baskets were emptied long before the circle had been completed, but they could not be refilled until the mocking bird speaker had delivered a new oration. He was led by the hand by his successor, who was learning the speech and who was considered to act as a witness. The two stood before the directional representative of the east, while the mocking-bird speaker addressed him:

SPEECH TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FOUR DIRECTIONS[4]

(Santa Rosa)

796x
539x

35. Hail, friend!
Are we not here drinking
The shaman's drink
The magician's drink!
We mix it with our drunken tears and drink.

See yonder the rainhouse that stands within the east.
Within it, hangs a white winged mocking bird.
Four times with inverted head he spoke;

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[4] For a Pima version of this speech see *ibid.*, pp. 347-52. Some of the material given there, for instance the building of a ceremonial house, is used by the Papago at the actual building of the house.

x1796 Straight down descending spoke
x539 Thus here he moistened the earth.

Yonder at the edge of the earth a wind swayed to and fro,
Well knowing whither it should move.
The standing trees it went shaking.
The rubbish at the foot of the trees it went piling high.
Over toward the west it went, and back it turned.
It saw the earth lie beautifully smoothed and finished.

Above emerged a huge white cloud,
With its head against the sky it stood,
Then it began to move.
Although the earth seemed very wide,
Clear to the edge of it, it went.

From within the great Rainy Mountains rushed out a huge black cloud
And joined with it.
Pulling out their white breast feathers they went,
Spreading their white breast feathers far and wide they went.
Then they stood still and saw.

Although the ditches lying side by side
Thought they could carry the flow
With little effort,
[The rain filled them full and]
Piled the rubbish crosswise at their mouths.
Although the flood channels lying side by side
Thought they could carry the flow
With little effort,
[The rain filled them full and]
Piled the rubbish crosswise at their mouths.

Clear to the west went (the clouds) and back they turned them.
They saw the earth lie beautifully moist and finished.
Upon it came forth seed,
And a thick root came forth,
And a thick stalk came forth.
Great broad leaves came forth,
And well they ripened.

Therewith was delightful the evening; 796x
Delightful the dawn. 539x
Let us all desire only this one end.
If thus we do, we shall see it.

Just over there, at the east,
There stands a rainhouse.
Shining white mocking bird, shaman,
Hither summon the winds;
Hither will come the white clouds, following.
Although the earth seems very wide,
They will climb up it and will go on.
Although the sky seems very high,
They will touch it with their heads and will go on.
Within, there will be crooked lightning
And loud sounding will roar the thunder.
Sprinkling the earth, they will go on.

Then you will always know
That though most wretched seeming lies our land,
Now, through our doings, it seems well again.
At the mouths of our ditches,
The rubbish will be piled high.
Upon their banks we shall plant seed.
Then shall emerge
Fair stalks, fair leaves, fair flowers,
And they shall ripen.(3)

At the conclusion of the speech the witness led the mocking-bird 796x speaker by the hand counterclockwise around the circle. They walked slowly, the witness raising his hand and directing the audience to "pass the kinship term." Each man shouted the term of his kinship to the orator, or, in the rare case where there was no relationship, the word "friend."

The man at the east, who had been addressed, now responded 796x 533 with a song alluding to rain and clouds, and his fellow villagers around him helped with the singing. The style of this singing was entirely different from that of the night before. It was almost tuneless; a dragging of words in a monotone in exceedingly slow time.

x796 The singer used a deep, hoarse voice somewhat like that of the 533 shamans in singing for the sick. His song must refer to two magic powers, such as wind and cloud or eagle and hawk. It was a potent rain charm.

After he had sung, the baskets were brought to the point where serving had stopped and passed again until empty. The man at the north was now addressed and sang. Next it was the turn of the south, and finally of the west.[8] Each man had four songs, and all of them were supposed to be sung during the morning. Below is given one song for each direction.

x796
x539

SONGS OF THE FOUR DIRECTIONS

EAST

This song refers to mist and clouds without mentioning the actual words.

36. Up yonder, far under the east
It is stretching.
Something whitish is stretching.
At its base, an eagle sits.
Something whitish is stretching.

Down yonder, near, under the west,
It is lengthening.
Something blackish is lengthening.
Beside it, a hawk hangs.
Something blackish is lengthening.

NORTH

37. Am not I a shaman!
I cause the wind to run.
My elder brother the land it floods with water.

Am not I doughty!
I cause the cloud to fly.
My younger brother the mountain it washes with water.

SOUTH

38. Just yonder a cloud comes forth,
And here it trembles,
Softly thundering.

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[8] West came last as the direction of the wild plants.

Just yonder a mist grows long, 796x
And here it trembles, 539x
Softly drizzling.

WEST

39. They made me drink the cup.
Here I cause the wind to blow.
Red spiders run on the field.[*]

They made me drink the liquor.
Here I cause the cloud to fly.
The centipede walks on the field.

The ceremony ended with the final song. In former days whatever liquor remained was given to the principal guests. They received no pay for their songs, but "they were the first to get drunk." 796x 533

At present each house also brews one or more jars of liquor for itself. When the drinking at the ceremonial house is over, the people scatter to visit their friends. Drinking is by invitation, but each family holds a sort of open house for relatives from their own village and from a distance. The host himself is not supposed to drink, or "his house would burn down." He passes a cup of liquor to his guest, calling him by the kinship term. The guest must then "cover it with song."

A number of songs[†] celebrating drunkenness are used on such occasions. Many are composed on the spot, under the inspiration of the liquor.

40. On Archie fields, we sing for the liquor. 796x
On the morning of the second day, 539x
They come hastening from all directions.
They grow drunk, they stagger, they grow very drunk.
They crawl around in their vomit.(27)

41. Much dizziness,
Much dizziness
Within me is swelling,
And more and more.
Every which way I am falling.(3)

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[*] The red spider which appears after rain is the desert velvet mite, *trobidium magnificum.*

[†] For Pima drinking songs see *ibid.*, pp. 311, 319, 325, 337.

×796
×539

42. I know nothing.
I know nothing.
I go about
All the houses.
Between them I go about.
All the people
Pour their looks upon me.(3)

43. Dizziness is following me;
Close it is following me.
Ah, but I like it.
Yonder far, far
On the flat land it is taking me.(20)

44. Mocking bird, mocking bird!
First drunk!
He talked much;
Loud he talked,
Going around drunkenly.
Not knowing [what he was doing].(20)

Mocking Bird was the first person to get drunk at the original liquor festival.

45. The dizzy water dissolves,
Here within me it dissolves.
From one direction to another,
I run.(20)

46. Yonder I go.
I do not know what land I see here,
I do not know what land I see here.
O, it is Magdalena land!
Hither they have brought me.(20)

47. The cup is empty.
An eagle is circling around, drunk.
People say things to me [in ridicule].
An eagle is circling around, drunk.(20)

Composed during the drinking.

48. 'Tis at the foot of little Gray Mountain
I am sitting and getting drunk;
Beautiful songs I am unfolding.(31)

49. Dizziness I see; 796^x
High up there I see it. 539^x
Truly, I like it.
Yonder they lead me;
Dizziness they give me to drink.(3)

50. Are you going to make me a shaman?
Here you lead me by the hand.
Inside all the mountains you take me.
I know not what I am saying.(27)

51. I know not [what I am doing];
I know not [what I am doing].
Ha'iya!
At the foot of Plumed Mountain
Drunk!
I know not what I am doing!
Late at night, I am running around.
I know not what I am doing!
I know not what I am doing!(13)

The following song was sung by a woman who went off with a handsome man at a drinking festival, deserting her children. He took her to Kamatk and left her. 796^x 786

52. My poor children! $[539]^*$
Badly I treated you.
To little Kamatk he brought me.
Badly I treated you.(20)

As indicated by some of these songs, sexual license was often a feature of the drinking. It was not a ceremonial obligation, and many men kept their wives at home.

When I was a young girl, I always wanted to go to the drinking feasts. But my father said: "Stay home. When you have a husband perhaps he will take you. But if he does not, then you are to obey him." And I was lucky. My husband always took me with him, while his two brothers made their wives stay at home. He led me by the hand to keep me safe.(26)

But certain unmarried women wandered about alone from feast to feast, living temporarily with any man who wanted them.[8] Such 796^x 548 171

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[8] Underhill, 1939, pp. 183–84.

x796 behavior may have been an old institution in that area, for the
548 writer heard of light women among the Mohave, and Sahagun gives
191 a long description of them among the Aztecs.[9] The Pima sang of their lure and even considered that they brought a special blessing.[10] For the Papago man, free at this time of license, they constituted one of the high lights of the feast, and many songs celebrate them.

SONGS OF THE LIGHT WOMEN

x796 53. The heart of the light woman
548 Comes out of her.
x539 Far yonder it is running about.
All through the long night it is running,
Giving her light.(13)

54. The little playful women!
The little playful women!
Whence got they dizziness?
Therewith they made my heart drunk.
The little playful women!
When they are dizzy,
Surely they will take me.(20)

55. Dizzy women
Are seizing my heart;
Westward they are leading me.
Ah, but I like it!
One on each side, they are leading me.(20)

Sung by a light woman.

56. A dizzy man seizes me
Yonder he leads me.
In my way darkness falls
I know not [what I do].(20)

x796 Drinking lasted until the liquor was exhausted. This meant
273 about twenty-four hours, during which the men of the village galloped their horses from house to house, wherever there was a supply. In former days dandies were said to prepare for the drinking

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[9] Sahagún, Seler, tr. Neunter Ábschnitt, b. 7, p. 66, and Jourdanet Book X, chap. xv, p. 16.

[10] Russell, pp. 307, 325. Also information from Dr. Benedict.

In formerdays, dandies were said to prepare for the drinking, x
by reddening the soles of their feet so that when they fell over 1796
drunk "the pretty color would show." Some women remained in 273
the otherwise deserted houses, and young girls and babies were [302]
kept on the housetops, out of harm's way.

We children would stay there all day and all night [reported one informant], "and when the drinking was over, some child would come from a neighbor's house and tell us: 'Your father and your mother are asleep out there in the arroyo. Go sit by them until they wake, so that their clothes will not be stolen.' "(26)

But the liquor had no very high alcoholic content. So much of it must be drunk before there is any intoxication that its most usual effect is to make the drinker vomit. This is recognized as a ceremonial feature, and people say with pleasure, pointing out a man so affected: "Look, he is throwing up clouds." The regular procedure during the twenty-four hours of the feast is to drink, vomit, sleep, and drink again, until the result is a thorough purging. The writer, after attending many festivals, has never seen any acts of violence, though it is reported that violence does sometimes occur. It is usual to see a group gathered at one house, singing, while the only drinking cup is passed slowly around, one person drinking at a time. This is the occasion above all others for learning songs, and informants are often recommended with the words, "He will know songs; he goes to all the drinking festivals." [11]

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[11] The rainmaking ceremony is still held in the northern part of the reservation [657] in the villages belonging to the Archie group and at Anegam. Since in the last few years more leniency is being shown by the Indian Office toward Indian festivals, this ceremony is being revived in other districts.

4

CEREMONIES TO PROMOTE GROWTH

241 IMMEDIATELY after the rainmaking ceremony, planting might begin. The Papago planted corn, squash, beans, and tobacco, and every stage in the growth of these crops, as well as in that of the wild ones that mature at the same time, was encouraged by singing. But there was great variation in the method. In some villages all the men met regularly during the summer "to sing up the corn"; in some the magic was left to the individual planter, and in some the shaman was called in for the purpose.

SHRINE OF THE FLOOD CHILDREN

773 At Santa Rosa the communal ceremony is still kept up. This village shares with Archie, Anegam, and Akchin a shrine dedicated to the four children once sacrificed here to prevent a flood.[1] The story, told among most groups of Papago and always localized where the shrine now stands, is as follows:

773 Once, in the desert near Archie, a hunter was pursuing a badger which
*537 had dived into a hole. The man tried to dig it out, but the hole grew larger, and a strong wind issued from it. [Some versions say, instead, that water issued.] The "big man" called the people together, and they talked for four nights about what to do, without being able to decide. Then the old men said: "Let us put into the hole the most valuable thing we have, and perhaps the wind (flood) will stop." So the people were asked to bring what they had, and they brought beads, deer tails, and eagle down. But the wind (flood) did not stop,

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[1] See p. 10.

and they thought the earth would be destroyed. Then a man spoke— 773
not a shaman, just a wise man. He said: "The most valuable thing 539x
we have is our children. Let us take four children, paint them beautifully, and place them in the hole. So it was done.

This part of the story has various versions. The children are al- 773
ways equally divided with regard to sex, but some say there were four, one from each of the four sibs, while some say two, one from each moiety or from each main sib: *dapap* and *maam*. Some versions make them the children of the "big man" himself, while some say they were "grandmother's children," i.e., those whose parents were dead. The version which speaks of four would seem to be the official one, since four children, elaborately painted, figure at the prayer-stick festival and are said to represent these "flood children."

As soon as the children were placed in the hole, it closed up. But the children were not dead, for dreamers since then have often looked down through the earth and seen them, happy and playing.[2]

These "flood children" are the patron deities of the four sur- 776
rounding villages. They are represented at the prayer-stick festival 796x
in a dance which seems to have nothing to do with the rest of the ceremony, and they also appear at the Kaka growth ceremony. Songs were frequently composed about them for ceremonies where new songs were in order, dreamers saw them in visions, and during the writer's visit at Santa Rosa the keeper of the smoke used to go to the shrine and to ask their advice on village problems. The shrine marks the hole where they disappeared, and if its ceremonies were ever to be neglected, wind or flood would again threaten the earth.

The shrine is a conical pile of flat stones, occupying an oval space 796x
some twenty feet wide by thirty feet long and surrounded by a 778
paling made of the tall, thorny stems of the ocotillo. These were and are renewed every two years, and the work of renewal, like all other phases of ceremonial life, is associated with the idea of crops and growth.

The renewal took place in April or May, when the ocotillos are 796x
green. A meeting was held, and a day was appointed when every

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[2] Cf. Zuni, the fate of the child who was given to the corn, died and was buried. Bunzel, 1929–30, p. 593. Also, incidents in Parsons, 1939, p. 235, and 1926, pp. 181–86; Benedict (1936), I, 10–11.

x796 man from all four villages must come to help with the work—the penalty for refusal being failure of all crops for the year. The men went to Archie Mountain to cut ocotillo wands, peel them, and stack them. The wands were spoken of as "corn," and every man tried to have as many as possible to his credit. When the work was finished, the village keeper of the smoke spoke to the workers.

x[539] 1. My kinsman of all degrees! You have made the likeness of big bottomed corn. You have made the likeness of big bottomed squash. Well will it ripen. Now will the sun sink beautifully. Now, thus you will do. You will go home and, having received food, eat it.(4)

x796 778 The men went home to sleep, and before daylight the next morning they arrived to carry the wands to the shrine. The man who came early and carried a large number would have plenty of corn in his field; the sluggard would have little. At the shrine the men removed the old ocotillo wands, working under the direction of one of the older men. They piled the discarded wands outside the shrine, where the accumulation of many years can now be seen. Then they cleaned the ground within the enclosure; they removed the pile of stones at its center and found a small treasure of beads and other offerings, supposedly the original ones made before the children were sacrificed. To these they added a few more, and then they piled the stones again over the treasure.

To the east, the north, the west, and the south of this pile of stones, they dug holes, in which they buried ironwood sticks to represent squash, thus hoping to increase their crops for the summer. Then they set up a fence of ocotillo around the shrine, leaving openings at the four points of the compass large enough for a man to pass through. When all was done, the speaker of the previous day recited the ritual to insure good crops, both cultivated and wild. He stood first in the eastern opening, then in the northern, then in the southern.

x796 x539 2. Well have we done by you, my older brothers [the flood children]! Now here for you stand our offerings. Now you will issue forth. Yonder you will run and will reach the east. There, within the rainhouse, are ripe things: ripe corn, ripe squash, ripe beans, everything to eat,

ripe. Then you will take them—not hard it is to do. Here you will 796x
bring them. Upon this wretched land we shall see them.(4) [539]x

After speaking at the southern opening, the speaker moved around the enclosure counterclockwise, reciting at the east and at the north, and finally he arrived at the west. Here the speech concerned the wild crops, since the wind which fertilizes them is thought to blow from the west.

3. Well have we done by you, my older brothers. Now, here for you [539]x stand our offerings. Now you will issue forth. Yonder you will run and will reach the west. There, within the rainhouse are ripe things: ripe amaranth seed, ripe flax seed, ripe grass seed. Then you will take them: not hard it is to do. Here you will bring them. Upon this wretched land we shall see them.(4)

The men then returned to the village and had their evening 796x
meal, after which they went to the council house and spent the 533
night in singing. Their songs were from the large group known as "scraping-stick songs," which were accompanied by the scraping stick and the basket drum. Their untranslatable introductory and final phrases were always the same: *hi hianai* [3] *hu* and *hítcia háhina*. These songs were always associated with rain and growth, though they have been adapted to several different ceremonies, such as the salt pilgrimage, and the cleansing ceremony, whose function is only secondarily the bringing of rain. The use of the scraping-stick songs for all these bends them ultimately to a common purpose. On the other hand, the scraping stick was never used at the actual rainmaking ceremony; there the instrument is the rattle. Rainmaking and growth songs seem to have had different origins.

Herzog, in analyzing Pima scraping-stick songs,[4] which seem to 191
resemble those of the Papago, has found that they are the most highly developed of any possessed by the Pima and differ entirely from the archaic songs connected with curing, deer hunting, and the origin myth. They resemble the corn-grinding songs of Laguna and Zuni. The introductory and final phrases of these Pima [5] songs,

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[3] Compare Cochiti *hiani*, the gift of the cloud spirits. Dumarest, p. 159.

[4] Herzog, 1936, p. 207.

[5] For Pima songs with the same refrain see Russell, pp. 331, 332, 333.

171 which are the same as those of the Papago, may be connected with similar syllables found among the Pueblos and the Navajo.

x 996
x 539

SCRAPING-STICK SONGS

(Santa Rosa)

INITIAL SONGS

3. *Hi hianai hu!*
Evening is falling.
Pleasant sounds will reverberate
Our songs.
Hitcia háhina. (26)

4. *Hi hianai hu!*
Evening falls.
Below [it] we spread feathers.
Black clouds sprinkle.
It rains.

Morning rises
Below [it] we spread feathers.
White clouds sprinkle.
It rains.
Hitcia háhina!(13)

5. *Hi hianai hu!*
From the eastern rainhouse
The wind blows.
From the eastern rainhouse
Comes the sound of a scraping stick.
Hitcia háhina!

Hi hianai hu!
From the western rainhouse
The wind blows.
From the western rainhouse
Comes the sound of a scraping stick
Hitcia háhina!(9)

6. *Hi hianai hu!*
Far away hang the black clouds.
Yonder they hang.
Hitcia háhina!(12)

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

796x
539x

7. *Hi hianai hu!*
Thither they hasten.
Thither they hasten.
Countless drops alight.
Thither they hasten;
They sprinkle the ground.
Hitcia háhina!

Hi hianai hu!
Thither they hasten.
Thither they hasten.
Countless drops are snowing.
Thither they hasten;
They lay snow on the mountains.
Hitcia háhina!(9)

8. *Hi hianai hu!*
A black swallow
Hangs far away,
And a black cloud
Hangs there.
Hitcia háhina!

Hi hianai hu!
A white belted [swallow]
Sings far away,
And a white belted cloud
Hangs there.
Hitcia háhina!(9)

9. *Hi hianai hu!*
The wind smooths well the ground;
Yonder the wind runs.
Upon our fields
The corn leaves tremble.(13)

10. *Hi hianai hu!*
Blue evening falls.
Blue evening falls.
Nearby, in every direction
It makes the corn tassels tremble.
Hitcia háhina!(12)

x796
x639

11. *Hi hianai hu!*
Little turtle, stand near me.
You are flat; you shut off the wind.
Hítcia háhina!

Hi hianai hu!
Little black worm, stand near me.
You are flat; you shut off the clouds.
Hítcia háhina!(12)

12. *Hi hianai hu!*
A little yellow and black cricket
At the roots of the corn
Is going around and singing.
Hítcia háhina!

Hi hianai hu!
A little yellow and black cricket
At the roots of the squash
Is going around and singing.
Hítcia háhina!(9)

13. *Hi hianai hu!*
It moves in different directions.
It moves in different directions,
And then it sits,
From the south,
On the blue water,
The dragon fly.
Hítcia háhina!

It moves in different directions.
It moves in different directions,
And then it stands,
From the south,
On the yellow water,
The dragon fly.
Hítcia háhina!(9)

FINAL SONG

14. *Hi hianai hu*
All of our songs we soon shall end.
Yonder the sun has set.

When we see it rise again, 796^{x}
I say to you—Go! 539^{x}
Hitcia hdhina!(12)

These are only a few of the scraping-stick songs; there are probably hundreds of them. More will be quoted in connection with the ceremonies for the salt pilgrims and for driving away evil. 796^{x} [533]

The ceremony of the Archie group is unique, for no other village had a similar shrine. Some, however, instead of opening and cleaning a shrine, opened the village fetish, recited the customary wise speeches, without which it was dangerous to expose the sacred objects, and perhaps sang the scraping-stick songs. Mesquite Root, a very old village related to the Archie group, kept a sacred basket hidden on one of the nearby hills. The keeper of the smoke, who was its custodian, fetched the basket to the council house at the time of the budding of the saguaro, at flowering, at forming of the fruit, and just before picking. He placed fresh eagle down in the basket and recited the wise speech, making a wish that the cactus might grow well.(26)

Kaka, at the west of the reservation, also used the sacred bundle. [186] Kaka is not related to the Archie group, but speaks a distinct dialect and is thought of by the Archie people as an abode of sorcery, sure sign of strangeness. However, its bundle ceremony was similar to that of Mesquite Root, and its boy and girl dancers seem to have been representatives of the "flood children." The bundle was hidden outside the village, as important fetishes often are, but in April the keeper of the smoke brought it to the council house and opened it in the presence of the elders. If the contents were damp, he was assured of plenty of rain for the summer; if they were dry, there would be little.

The keeper smoked over the bundle and made the wise speech. Then scraping-stick songs were sung, while a dance was performed by two boys and two girls, evidently representing the "flood children." Their bodies were spotted with white paint to represent the corn, and they had a black streak across the eyes. The boys wore [271] cotton kilts, and the girls the old-style Papago skirts, which were merely knee-length kilts, made of home woven cotton. In their hands they carried eagle down. After the ceremony the dancers x796 bathed. The keeper of the smoke went through the usual retreat, involving fasting and solitude for four days, and then he also bathed. If the augury had been inauspicious, the ceremony might be held again when the saguaro was in bud, about a month before the drinking ceremony.

Kaka had also a ceremony when the corn was well up and before the tassel was formed. Corn effigies were made of painted sticks and placed in the council house. Then twenty boys and twenty girls, painted and dressed as in the previous ceremony, faced each other in two rows, boys and girls alternating, and danced backward and forward. This is the same general performance as the autumn cleansing dance, which purified the meat and the harvest crops. After it [784] was over the dancers bathed and abstained for four days from meat, salt, and sexual intercourse. The informant was uncertain whether the bundle was opened on this occasion, but it seems likely that this act formed part of the ceremony.

The Kaka songs were on the usual scraping-stick pattern.

x796
x539

27. *Hi hianai hu!*
All together, all together, all together
They sing.
He! All together they sing
Hitcia háhina.
All of them, the white beans,
Together sing
Tcianai hiu.

Hi hianai hu!
All together, all together, all together
They sing.
He! All together they sing
Hitcia háhina.
All of them, the red beans,
Together sing
Tcianai hiu.(3)

241 When corn planting time arrived each man sowed his seed without further communal ceremony. He stood at the edge of the corn

field, perhaps with a group of kinsmen who were aiding him, and sang: 244

15. Here I put my hand in my pouch, [539]x
And downward I go dropping [the seed].
Here upon our fields
A [clump like a] feather headdress
Comes forth.(20)

Then, as he walked down the first row, dropping four seeds into every hole made by his digging stick, he might address the corn.

16. Hail! I shall drop you in the ground. [539]x
You will come out and will ripen.
From elsewhere my relatives will come,
Will arrive, and will eat you.(3)

Sometimes the individual continued to sing at each stage of the growth of the corn and the squash. "He would walk about the field at night, quietly singing." Or he would stand at the edge of the field at dawn, and sing before starting to work. His songs might be any of those which were used for community singing.

At Tecolote, in the southern part of the reservation, growth magic consisted, not in opening a sacred bundle, but in making effigies to represent the crops, both cultivated and wild.[6] [184]

A series of communal meetings were held during the summer to "sing up the crops," and for days beforehand all the men were busy making representations of the expected fruits. A corn ear was carved from a section of giant cactus rib, with the long leaves of the yucca to serve as foliage. Squash was made from flexible ocotillo stems covered with buckskin, dyed yellow. Beans might be small spotted pebbles. Giant cactus and cholla fruits were made of clay and painted wood. 796x 778

A fire was built in front of the council house and the fruits were laid in a row to the west of it. Still farther west sat all the available shamans, and beyond them were the singers, with basket drums and scraping sticks. Usually an old man who knew the legends of corn 796x x796 and squash sat in the center and opened the ceremony by a recital of the story. There are many conflicting versions of this story, each [18] with its own series of songs. Each locality had its favorite, which the local narrator inserted in the origin myth. One of the best known is that of the corn woman, which has its own set of songs, with a special refrain, *Híro a'áro.*[7]

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[6] Cf. the facsimiles of corn and squash offered by Hopi and Zuni to induce increase. Parsons, 1939, p. 316.

MYTH OF THE CORN WOMAN

773 x539 Corn was a man who seduced a Papago woman. She lived with him a long time, and at last returned to her husband. At night she sang to him the songs the corn had taught her. The keeper of the smoke sent a messenger asking why the husband neglected the council meetings. He replied: "I am listening to my wife." The council meeting invited the woman to come. She sat between her husband and the keeper of the smoke, and sang one corn song. All the meeting began to sing. She sang another, and the women came from their houses to listen. At the third the women sang, too, and at the fourth all danced.

SONGS OF THE CORN WOMAN

WHEN CORN FIRST APPEARS

x796
x539

28. Songs begin.
At the west they begin.
Thereby the corn comes up.
Upward its heart [the ear] is stretching.
At the west they begin.
Híro a'áro!

Songs are ending.
At the east they are ending.
Thereby squash comes up.
In a row its hearts [fruits] are standing
At the east they are ending.
Híro a'áro!(2)

WHEN CORN IS ONE FOOT HIGH

29. At the west, the red corn.
See me!
I come forth and grow tall.
Yonder on the moist ground

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[7] For Pima songs with this refrain see Russell, pp. 333-34.

[i.e., the legend of corn and squash --Analyst]

539x
796x

I come forth.

At the east the white corn.
See me!
I come forth and grow tall.
Yonder on the moist ground
I come forth.
Hiro a'dro!(2)

WHEN CORN IS KNEE HIGH

30. I sang for the corn.
Beautifully I sang for it.
Truly I liked it.
Truly I liked it.
Beautifully I sang for it,
Behaving like the corn.
Hiro a'dro!(2)

WHEN CORN IS IN TASSEL

31. The night moves, singing.
Not sleepy, I.
A stick I cut, to represent the corn.
Where I find the yellow bees
There will be much corn.
Hiro a'dro!(2)

WHEN TASSEL IS DEVELOPED

32. Just over there the ground was moist.
On it corn came forth.
On [the corn] a white flower.
Hiro a'dro!

Just over there the ground was moist
On it squash came forth
On [the squash] a yellow flower.
Hiro a'dro!(2)

WHEN CORN IS RIPE

The corn speaks to the harvester, who carries it in his arms.

33. Truly most comfortably you embrace me.
Truly most comfortably you embrace me.
The blue corn I am.
Hiro a'dro!

x796 Truly most comfortably you embrace me.
x539 Truly most comfortably you embrace me.
The red corn I am.
Hiro a'dro!

Truly most comfortably you embrace me.
Truly most comfortably you embrace me.
A great white cloud I am.
Hiro a'dro!(2)

773 A second myth, which may or may not have connection with the first, emphasizes the role of the man who had corn as a guardian spirit and merely passed his knowledge on to a woman. This protégé of the corn once came upon a group of women baking cholla in a pit. He bade them open the pit, and though they told him this was foolish, for cholla took all night to bake, they did so. Within was baked corn and squash.

773 Corn man, as he came toward the women, sang:
x539

34. I am walking, I am walking.
Hiro a'dro!

At the west there lives a clever girl.
I laugh at her,
And easily I take her.
Hiro a'dro!(20)

He married the youngest girl and went with her to her father's village singing:

34. The sun rises.
Yonder ahead of me
The earth is covered with flowers.
Over it I walk,
Leading the maiden.
Hiro a'dro!(20)

773 He told the girl's father, a shaman, to bid all the people to strengthen the roofs of their houses, for a magic rain would come. They disbelieved him, and when it rained corn and squash their roofs were broken. Then the corn man sang:

35. House of the shaman, house of the shaman! 773
House of the shaman, house of the shaman! 539*
You did not believe it was true.
But I came and it was true.
Hiro a'dro!

Here, overhead, the squashes are raining.
Right here, on the fields, the squashes are raining.
Hiro a'dro!(20)

Two other songs with the *hiro a'dro* refrain may belong to this story, though our informants had learned them separately and did not know the context.

Corn speaks.

24. The little striped woodpecker
Descends right down into my heart.

Man speaks.

This my bow
Twangs in the cornfield.
Hiro a'dro!(4)

26. *Hiro a'dro!*
The squash we hold in our arms.
The squash we hold in our arms.
Do we not all hold it in our arms?
Hiro a'dro!
Do we not all hold it in our arms?
Hiro a'dro!(4)

For squash there is a different story, associating it with Navitcu, 773 the ceremonial clown. Navitcu, as we have mentioned, is obviously an importation from the Pueblos, with his mask, his tuft [177] of feathers, his *kachina*-like costume, and the seeds which he carries "in his heart." However, the character has been worked into Papago mythology.

After the flood, when Elder Brother and Earthmaker were looking 773 for the center of the earth, they met Navitcu and the turtle. "You 539* have no right to be here," said Elder Brother, "I have not created you." So he sent them south. Every night when they camped, the turtle

793 took from his heart an ear of corn, and the clown, a squash. Coyote, x 538 who followed them, reported this to Elder Brother, and the latter decided to invite them back. But they were angry and said they would only come in summer. The rest of the year the people would starve.

The turtle now lives in the south, and Navitcu lives in the north, where he speaks a foreign language. But he taught the people to request favors of him by giving him cornmeal. When this is done, he never refuses.

Once a medicine man had a proud daughter who refused all suitors. The wind, who was among them, blew her up to the top of a high precipice and left her there. Her father, in despair, gave cornmeal to Navitcu, who came underground to the foot of the precipice. He took squash seed from his heart, planted it, and sang:

36. Yonder a rock came out;
Here it came out.
What did I loudly sing?
What did I loudly shout?
I came forth.
I ran hither.(27)

The squash vine grew up to the top of the precipice, and the girl climbed down it.

[244] This and other songs connected with the story serve as special squash-growing magic.(37)

Most of the songs referring to wild crops have been lost, but two are recorded.

GROWING SONG FOR GIANT CACTUS

37. The big mothers stand there.
The big mothers stand there.
Whitely they flower.
Black [the blossoms] dry.
Red they ripen.(20)

CHOLLA GROWING

38. Many chollas came forth.
Many chollas came forth
Then I, having seen,
Thought it well.(20)Ed.10.

After four songs the shaman took up one sample of each fruit 796x
in succession, blew upon it, held it up, and asked help of the rain- 756
houses of east, north, west, and south. As the singing proceeded, he looked about, as he would look for a war party, to see if danger threatened the crop from any direction. If he foresaw the coming of a pest, blight, or sorcery, the company sang the songs to avert evil, described later.

Next day the effigies were taken to fields and hills and left, with the invocation: "I place you here. Do you grow well. Then our children and our relatives coming from elsewhere may eat." Sometimes the shaman went to each individual cornfield, at the request of its owner. He might plant an effigy of corn or merely an ironwood stake, making a similar invocation.(1)

Tobacco songs were not sung in public. Tobacco must be planted 276
far from the village, for if any one other than the planter looked on it while it was sprouting, it would sink back into the ground. If a menstruating woman should pass near it at any time, it would wither. Therefore it was planted only by certain men who knew the ritual. Papago mythology has flowered into several tobacco stories, of which one is a variant of that told about squash.

> Corn and tobacco were once men who held an archery contest. They 276
> quarreled over the result and were expelled from the village as un- 773
> desirable neighbors. As they went they halted continually and looked 539x
> back to see if a peace messenger were following. But no one came. So they found a plot of land and planted corn and tobacco, which they took from their hearts. After some years, people missed them. They sent a messenger, who, after much wandering, found the corn by holding up a tuft of eagle down and feeling how the wind blew on it. The wind smelled of corn. But corn and tobacco were angry and would not come back. Corn gave the messenger a few small grains from the end of the ear, saying "This is all you may have," and tobacco gave faded leaves from the bottom of the stalk. Nevertheless, each gave songs to aid in the use of his gift.

The songs are said to be those of the regular scraping-stick group. Another story has its place in the origin myth. It concerns the period during I'itoi's early guardianship of the people.

> After Elder Brother had killed cannibal woman, the people feasted on her flesh. Two boys and their grandmother got none. The grand-

276 773 x539 mother sent them to pick up any drops of blood which might be left, and they found a few, which ultimately turned into bird eggs and hatched out two macaws. The people were angry at the boys, so the grandmother told them to flee, leaving her behind. They were to return in four days, and whatever they found in her place would be her gift to them. They returned and found a tobacco plant. For a long time they did not know what to do with it, but finally Elder Brother visited them, told them to smoke it, and instituted the passing of the ceremonial cigarette.

[435] Many songs given by the old woman to her grandsons accompanied the growth of tobacco. But the Papago at present buy Mexican tobacco, and only one planting song was remembered.

TOBACCO PLANTING SONG

39. Am I not the tobacco shaman?
Here I come forth and grow tall.
Am not I the tobacco shaman?
The blue humming bird finds my flowers.
Above them softly he is humming.
Hiro a'aro.(2)

[177] The communal meeting with fruit effigies is no longer held. But Santa Rosa and its companion villages continue their ceremonies at the shrine, and many individuals use planting songs and invocations.[8]

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[8] Public ceremonies for growth are held at the desert shrine which serves Archie, Akchin, Santa Rosa, and Anegam. Other ceremonies are held at Kaka. There may be more unknown to the writer.

5

HUNTING

THE chief Papago meat supply was rabbit meat; both the cottontail (*Lepus arizonas*) and the jackrabbit (*Lepus californicus* and *Lepus alleni*) were used. They were hunted all the year round and no man or boy ever left the village without his bow and the light wood-tipped arrows which were used for such small game. Boys, and men when they had time, also poked the roundtailed ground squirrels (*Citellus tereticandus*) and the desert rats (*Dipodops sp.*) out of their holes or dug channels to flood them out after the summer rains. They shot such fat birds as the quail (*Lophortys gambelii*) and the mourning dove (*Zenaidura macroura*). This routine work was done without ceremony, except for the communal rabbit hunt, later to be described. 224

DEERHEAD DISGUISE

Deer hunting was another matter. The Papago hunted the black-tailed or desert mule deer (*Odocoileus hemionus eremicus*), the white tailed deer (*Odocoileus couesi*), and "a big tame stupid deer," which was less common and may have been *Odocoileus hemionus canus*, that came down from the snow covered mountains in the cold winters. Of these it was the first, the desert, or mule, deer which was the focus of myth and ritual—its tail equivalent to eagle down, its flesh ordained by I'itoi for the people's food.

I'itoi made the deer during the people's march of conquest. He took a squirrel and split it up the back, to make it larger, but the squirrel cried, and so he let it go. The splitting left a white mark down its back, visible to this day. Then I'itoi took a mouse. This tiny animal did not cry. I'itoi made the deer, giving it no gall bladder so that it 224, 639x

[p. 85]

224 could not get angry. He gave it the wind for its friend to tell of human approach, but he also caused it to know when its time was come, so that it would submit itself willingly to the hunter.

The deer never appeared as guardian spirit, perhaps because it was a late creation, not one of the "first people," and perhaps, too, because of its timidity. Nevertheless, the deer could send sickness
[753] (a cough, which the Papago have now agreed to call tuberculosis). This was the penalty for unnecessary cruelty in the hunt and for disrespectful treatment of the remains. No part of the deer should ever be brought into contact with a menstruating woman. The bones should be carefully put away where no dog could drag them about, and the horns placed on the house roof or in some special repository.[1]

Some men hunted the deer by tracking him down on foot, and for this no magic was needed. An old man famous for this athletic feat told the writer that he had never had a dream in his life.(22) But the traditional method of individual hunting was to use the deerhead disguise, a procedure which was accompanied by songs and dreams. Ceremonialists differed about this form of magic, and most of them did not ascribe it to *I'itoi.* Instead, the author was an evil shaman who corralled the deer and then, on being paid by two young hunters, taught the deerhead disguise and the songs.

Men who used the deerhead disguise were known as *mó'opetam* (headbearers). They were a professional group, who hunted all the year round, except in January ("Moon of Thin Animals"), February ("Moon When the Deer Smell Bad"). Their male relatives tilled their fields for them, and the hunters, in return, made them gifts of venison. The more successful ones even had meat to trade. However, deer were not plentiful, and "if a man got twelve in a year, that was good."

There were many families which had no hunters among them, but in a large group of boys, a father might designate one for this arduous profession. "Are sure you want this?" the youth would be warned by the older relative, to whom he went for training. "You

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[1] Kino (Bolton, 1936, p. 372) mentions such a repository among the Gila Pima. Horns can be seen on many old Papago houses, and those from a ritually killed deer are regularly placed on the round house.

224

know that you must often go without food and drink and spend months in the far mountains." If the candidate proved hardy and swift, his family paid a teacher, and the young hunter began by carrying the quiver and helping to "jerk" and pack the meat. He was not given a disguise until he had managed, by luck or fast running, to kill his first deer. This he gave to the teacher, being forbidden to eat any of it himself on pain of never catching another. From the head the teacher fabricated a disguise for him.[3]

We might logically expect that after his first deer the youth would go through a purification and then receive his deer-hunting songs. But hunting was not in the same category with power experiences. There seems to have been no ordeal connected with this first kill, and the hunter learned his songs from his teacher during his apprenticeship or from the other men at camp.

Having received his disguise, he was a full-fledged headbearer. He hunted, as his teacher had hunted, with a companion or an apprentice, for two men generally circled the deer, the helper hiding, ready to head off the animal's flight, while the principal, having assumed the deerhead, approached cautiously upwind. Having shot his deer, he summoned his companion, and both of them carried the meat home. Deer songs are full of allusions to these two partners.

Sometimes a larger group went out and camped together, separating only after they reached the hunting grounds. One of the older headbearers would initiate the expedition, for the hunt chief, essentially a ritualist, took no part in it unless he, too, happened to be a headbearer. The volunteer leader announced his intention one night at council meeting, and pairs of partners who were interested agreed to join him. They set a rendezvous in the mountains, some days in advance, and each man prepared his deer arrows, which were of yucca, with greasewood foreshaft and a stone tip, like the war arrows. They took a shaman with them, as the war party did and for a like reason. He was to "see" the deer, while the group made magic by singing.

The headbearers, renowned for their endurance, carried neither

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[3] For description of this disguise and the method of making it, see Castetter and Underhill, pp. 40–41.

224 food nor water. They were sure of getting meat of some kind. They [272] would drink the blood, and, in any case, they prided themselves on being *skutsk* (able to endure thirst). Those who would don the disguise wore sleeveless shirts of deerskin whitened in front to imitate the deer's belly, black behind, like his back. They carried white clay with which at the last minute they would dapple their brown legs and arms. At the same time, they would assume the disguise and then emerge from behind some shelter to walk toward the deer on all fours.

As men gathered at the rendezvous, they moved quietly and spoke in low tones so as not to offend the deer. Some even maintained complete silence. If anyone felt that he or his weapons had been exposed to contact with a menstruating woman, the shaman performed some part of the ceremony for driving away evil, to be described later. This applied only to fathers or brothers who had run the risk unconsciously. The husband of a menstruant or a pregnant woman was required to stay at home, on pain of being wounded in the hunt or causing illness to his child.

224 789 Those who had hunting fetishes, exposed them. Such a fetish was usually a "blue stone" or a "white stone" whose whereabouts had been suggested by an animal visitant in a vision. Those who had had no vision sometimes owned a less reputable form of magic, though they would not confess it. This came from the lichen called "earth flowers," which grew on rocks in inaccessible places. Men climbed to get it, and, after asking its permission, rubbed off a little [832] with a rock and wore it in the folds of the breech clout. It attracted both deer and women, and its odor on a man's sweaty hands in the drinking dance would bring any woman to him, they said. But it was dangerous, and a man who used it too long would ultimately sicken and die. No man ever admitted possessing it, and the few whom the writer knew to be suspected of owning it were regarded with fear.[3]

Such private magic was always subsidiary to the singing of songs to summon the deer. For this the men arranged themselves in a circle, as they did on the warpath, and each in turn sang the songs 224 he knew. Supposedly, these were the ancient cycle from the origin myth, but to them had been added others dreamed by those who had "met" the mountain lion or other patron of the hunt. Each man knew a few songs, which he taught to his companions; meanwhile the shaman went into the darkness and looked about "to see what wanted to be killed."

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[3] The writer finally obtained a small amount of earth flowers in a buckskin bag, but it was too dry and powdered for identification. It may be the same growth which she scraped off a rock in Mohave country and which has not yet been analyzed. The Mohave shaman who lent his pocket knife for the process (while turning his back) professed to be ill for some days afterward.

Then the men lay back to sleep, and if one of them were fortunate, the deer would appear to him in the guise of a beautiful woman, and would make a tryst for the following day. Hunters [276] said they knew nothing about the use of jimson weed (*Datura metelloides*) as a help toward such visions, although the song 18 suggests it. The plant grows wild in Papago country and was in regular ceremonial use by the southern California Shoshoneans. Still, say the Papago, "it's a cheap way to get visions. The animals won't really come unless you starve." Inquiry produced no instances of the use of datura at the present day.[4]

Below are quoted three cycles of deer songs from three separate 224 informants and a few odd songs, both old and new. There must be 533 hundreds of such songs in the Papago area. They describe a successful hunt, with all its incidents, humorous, realistic, or fanciful, in order that the same things may occur again. Some songs, with imaginative sympathy, are placed in the deer's own mouth. They have no standard refrain. Informants said that they should always be in pairs, and where there is only one it is probable that one of the pair has been lost. This pairing, says Herzog,[5] is a musical characteristic of the western Pueblos, but he considers the Pima hunting songs, which resemble those of the Papago, to be in a more primitive musical style than the Pueblo-like songs for growth.[6]

SERIES BY INFORMANT 19

224
539x

1. At the west there is a rumbling;
The deer tail
Rumbling.

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[4] In the songs datura is paired with another magic-working plant, *tcínacat*, so far unidentified. For lack of an English name, this plant has been called lizard weed, since it is said to "meet" dreamers in the form of a lizard. See Underhill, 1937, p. 184.

[5] Herzog, pp. 299, 307.

[6] For Pima deer songs see Russell, pp. 300, 317. The former very similar to No. 16, p. 92, below.

224
x539

HUNTING

At the east there is a mirage;
The deer horns.
A mirage.

3. Four times I have sung.
Over there I found the deer.
Four times I have shouted [to my partner];
Over there I killed the deer.

4. Yonder I went;
The flat land lay dark and far.
I went feeling my way.

Yonder I went;
The mountains lay dark and far.
I went feeling my way.
(Composed by the singer's comrades when he came home belated.)

5. The white tail, climbing,
Seems like a streak on the rocks.
The black tail, striding,
Seems like a crack in the rocks.

6. He [the deer] is spotted.
On the flat land he goes running.
He is spotted.
On the mountains he goes running.
These, my hands, I cover with white clay
And on the ground
I go on all fours [in deer disguise].

7. The mountain gap!
Thither the deer run climbing.
Beyond it the reeds,
They scatter and break.

The mountain gap!
Thither the deer run circling.
Beneath it the reeds!
They scatter and break.

8. There, where the ocotillo grew thick,
I killed the deer.

There, where the grass grew thick,
I wounded the deer.

9. The strong wind blows toward me;
In a circle the clouds rush toward me.
This, my flesh,
Is turning green.[7]

10. There I was walking along;
My bow string I was twisting.
The white crystal shaman
Walked with me.

There I was walking along;
My arrow feather I was tightening.
The blue stone warrior
Walked with me.

11. This ground is magic,
It raised me high.
To the foot of the east it carried me.

These mountains are magic,
They raised me high.
To the top of the west they carried me.

12. The wind is rushing toward us
Far off.
Turning somersaults as it comes.
At the edge of the world it stands still.

The clouds are coming toward us
Nearby.
Spreading out as they come,
On the top of the mountain they sit still.

13. From the rainhouse in the east
The wind emerges.
(Leaving behind it)
A string of feathers.

From the rainhouse in the west
A cloud emerges.

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[7] The legend is that deer flesh turns green after rain. Sung by the deer.

224
x639

(Leaving behind it)
A string of bird down.

14. Over there, far off he runs,
With his white forefeet,
Through the brush.

Over there, nearby he runs,
With his nostrils open,
Over the bare ground.

The deer speaks, saying that if the hunter's weapons have been near a menstruating woman, the deer will remain invisible.

15. Invisible I go;
Invisible I run.
In the menstruation blood
I bury myself.
In the great flow of blood
Invisible I run.

16. Here a little moisture
Is dripping.
Beside it [grows] the white datura.
Here a little moisture
Is dripping.

Within the green rock
There is a dripping.
Beside it grows the lizard weed,
Within the green rock
There is a dripping.

SERIES BY INFORMANT 22

The lizard weed speaks.

17. The datura is like me,
It has white blossoms.

The datura speaks.

The lizard weed is like me,
It has yellow blossoms.

224
539x

18. Little datura children
All together assembled;
Loud singing sounds forth.

Little lizard-weed girls
All together assembled;
A sort of laughing sounds forth.

A hunter speaks, after eating datura.

19. I, very eager,
Grabbed the deer's foreleg,
Grabbed the deer's foreleg,
Thinking it my bow.

I, very brave,
Grabbed the deer's tail,
Grabbed the deer's tail,
Thinking it my arrow.

The deer speaks.

20. Lo, surely I shall die.
Over there, toward the west,
Here and there I went running.
Over there in the west
It thundered; it shook me.

Lo, surely I shall die.
Over there, toward the east,
Here and there I went running.
Over there, in the east,
It echoed, it threw me down.

21. The black crows go flying,
Having seen the snapping bow;
Toward it in a narrow line
They go flying.

The yellow comrade [coyote],
Having seen the humming arrow,
Toward it crouching
Goes running.

The deer speaks.

224
×539

22. Here I come forth.
On the earth I fell over;
The snapping bow made me dizzy.

Here I come forth!
On the mountain I slipped;
The humming arrow made me dizzy.

23. The fence of bows!
Within it I run about
In every direction, looking.

The fence of arrows!
Within it I run about
In every direction, looking.

24. Already they have killed me.
This my flesh they cut,
And here they threw it down.

CYCLE BY INFORMANT 24

25. Over the great brush-bearing land
We shall look,
And beneath us that light we shall see.

On the great rocky mountain
We shall learn,
And beneath us that light we shall see.

26. Long ago upon the flat land [the deer].
Truly we went finding.
Over there, over there, over there, over there,
Truly we went finding.

Long ago upon the mountain top,
The deer
Truly we went knowing.
Over there, over there, over there, over there,
Truly we went knowing.

27. I was whistling [for my partner],
I was whistling,

224
539x

I was whistling.
Over there a deer I killed.
I was whistling.

I was shouting [for my partner],
I was shouting,
I was shouting.
Over there a deer I killed.
I was shouting.

MISCELLANEOUS SONGS

28. Then I at dawn am going;
Then, indeed, I see.
Then I at dawn am going.(12)

Deer speaks.

29. Red are my horns, my horns,
With their branching ends.

The horns of the deer are said to grow red when its death is approaching. [226]

A MODERN SONG

Deer speaks.

30. My fine horns fell off,
I was confused.
There I stood, puzzled,
My fine horns pulled off.

I tried to run home.
I thought,
Truly, I am unhappy.
I thought,
What shall I do to put them back
That I may run gaily?(3)

31. Rocks upstanding!
Rocks upstanding!
Under them I am lying.
A man is descending.
Look! He comes here.(20)

224 32. You killed me.
x539 I fell.
I knew not what I was doing
As I ran.(12)

A hunter who had killed a deer, speaks to it.

33. Now do not make me sick, because I have killed you. God left you here for the purpose: that I might kill you and that I might eat.(29)

224 Hunters might spend several days in the mountains, meeting at a different rendezvous every night. If they had a good deal of meat, they "jerked" it before carrying it home in their string bags. On the return, each distributed it among his relatives, often sending gifts to far distant villages.[8] The tail he kept, either for donation to some family fetish or for trade.

COMMUNAL HUNTING

The big "surround" for rabbit or deer must once have been a common occurrence, for Papago tales abound in incidents which use it as a background. The method was to build a brush fence with one small opening across the mouth of some desert valley. Then a large circle of beaters would drive the game toward this bottleneck. For deer and antelope, skilled marksmen stood behind the fence with stone-tipped arrows. For rabbit every one helped, with wooden-tipped arrows, sticks, or stones. No rabbit sticks or nets seem to have been used.

It was in the "surround" that the hunt chief functioned. His title, *tópetam,* means literally, rabbiter (*tópi,* cotton-tail rabbit, *tam,* agentive). He was a hereditary leader, who was as much ritualist as business manager, and the heir to the office is often thought of now as the logical appointee for government stockman. Some informants were not sure whether the same man directed both the rabbit and the deer drives, but in both cases it was "an old man who knew the talk." Granting that the rituals for the two hunts may sometimes have descended through different family lines, we shall speak provisionally of any such leader as the hunt chief.

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[8] For the complicated system of gift distribution see Underhill, 1937, pp. 99–101.

THE RABBIT DRIVE *

The time for the big rabbit hunts was in the rainy season, when 796x there was plenty of vegetation and "the rabbits got fat and lazy." 224 Men hunted as often as they could spare time from their fields, but there was a ceremonial drive at the opening of the season, between the two nights of rainmaking. At this time the village swarmed with guests, and every male present turned out to help provide a feast. Women did not join.

On the preceding evening the hunt chief mounted to the roof of his house and issued a call for all the men to meet next day at an appointed place, where the wall of brush had been built. The wall had one opening, and early the next morning the hunt chief took his place beside it, carrying in his left hand a bow and in his right a ceremonial arrow, decorated with a deer tail. It was with this arrow that he would point the men to their positions, after having made his ritual speech. The speech was full of "soft words," [537] designed to spare the feelings of the game animals by not using their names.

RABBIT HUNT SPEECH

(Archie)

796x
539x
224

1. Now has my desire fulfilled itself,
Oh you, my kinsmen.

I looked on high.
Surprised, I saw
The sun about to move on its circuit.
Then thus did I fulfill my desire.

I did gather to me the youths grown
And tell them my purpose.
Then forth I went, and at the base of a tree
Did lay me.
This was the goal [for the two lines of beaters].

Then did I point the road toward it,
And along it did I lead the youths.
There did I kill

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* Russell, p. 82, mentions a Pima rabbit drive.

x796 Those who did stay within their houses [ground squirrels],
x539 The little ones with ears who run about [rabbits],
224 The stiff haired ones [rats].

Then was the sun growing low.
Then home I brought my kill.
Then came forth the old men.
They flayed it.
They pounded the bones.

Then came forth the old women.
The three shamans they took [three pot stones]
And set them up.
Within they piled the heap [of firewood].
They brought the jar
And lit the fire.

Then was the sun about to set.
They took out [the meat]
And sent it forth as gifts
Hanging [from the bearer's hand].

Then did I think that my desire was good.
You will thus also think and so desire,
All you, my kinsmen.(2)

x796 224 After the speech the hunt chief appointed two head beaters, usually the same from year to year, since "they knew how." They were to lead the lines of men and boys in two wide half circles and, where they met they were to make a fire.(2) The fire at the rabbit hunt is a common southwestern requirement,[10] usually for ceremonial purposes but the aged hunt chief interviewed said no fire was really made. "It was just in the speech."

The game, which consisted of all the small rodents the beaters could scare up, was driven to the opening where the hunt chief stood (with the best marksmen beside him) armed with wooden-tipped arrows. "We didn't have rabbit sticks. We were proud of our shooting." However, the beaters picked up any stone or stick they could find, to assist in the kill. Hunters shared their catch with any relatives who had been less fortunate. Most of it was taken 796x home and prepared for a feast to which all the old and indigent 224 were invited, as well as the visiting kin. The speech emphasizes [888] also the gifts of cooked food which were sent to other houses.

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[10] Laguna (Parsons, 1920a, p. 66); Hopi (Parsons, 1939, p. 127); Zuñi (Stevenson, 1901-2, p. 91).

THE DEER DRIVE AND THE CLEANSING CEREMONY

As the ceremonial rabbit drive opened the summer hunting season, so a deer drive opened the winter season. At least, this was so among the northern Papago, whose deer hunting began in November. The southern Papago held their deer dance and hunt in August. In both cases the procedure was the same. A blacktailed deer was ritually killed and cooked, with corn, beans, and squash from the harvest. Songs, dancing, and orations united and sanctified all this food in a general cleansing ceremony.

The rites were instituted by I'itoi, say the ceremonialists, because after he had created the deer he found that the people became [773] sick from eating too much of it. So he showed them a dance by which they might "step down the sickness." Though this is popularly known as "deer dance," it has nothing in common with the dances for multiplying game, so common among the Pueblos. Its Papago name is *mà'makah,* a word no informant could translate. One member of the *maam* sib thought that it might refer to that group, to which he said *I'itoi* had specifically given it. Certain it is that in this ceremony sib distinctions play an important part. [614] Special roles are assigned to members of *maam* and *dapap,* but since these are the oldest and most important members of Buzzard and Coyote, respectively, it may be that the distinction is actually one of moiety.[11]

A cleansing ceremony was given in each of the important cere- 796y monial centers, Archie, Pisinimo, Kaka, and Quitovaca (Sonora). 224 The only one still in force is that held at Quitovaca, though the 184 Pisinimo people, who are Catholics, substitute for it the killing 177 of a beef in front of the church on Holy Cross day and the distribution of cakes instead of venison. Accounts of the dance were obtained from Kaka, Santa Rosa, Pisinimo, and Quitovaca and are different enough to be treated separately.

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[11] For description of sibs and moieties see Underhill, 1939, pp. 30–34.

x796 At Kaka, the first step was the calling of a meeting to decide on
224 the date of the feast. Here a speech was made by the hereditary
ritual orator for the occasion, who must belong to the *maam* sib.

SPEECH BEFORE DEER HUNT

x796 1. Hail!
224 I looked upon my buckskin, lo, I saw
x539 It was already all worn out.
I looked upon my bowstring, lo, I saw
It was already all worn out.
Lo, I saw the clothing of my women.
It was already all worn out.
Then did I reveal my desire.

Toward sunset a road I chose.
There I placed a black eagle.
Beyond did I place my white comrade [coyote].
Toward the sea (south) a road I chose.
There I placed a black eagle.
Beyond, did I place my white comrade.
Toward sunrise a road I chose.
There I placed a black eagle.
Beyond did I place my white comrade.
Toward the north a road I chose.
There I placed a black eagle.
Beyond did I place my white comrade.

Hither and yon they ran.
This way they ran and killed the deer.
There kept barking the comrade.
There [the deer] fell and thrashed about.
Then did a man run up.
He moved the deer and laid him with his head to westward.
He took the tail and brought it to the shaman.
The shaman sat and marked a square.
He put the tail within it.
Then came the people.
They took the tail and with it they blessed themselves.(39)

x796 After the speech the date for the dance was decided upon, and
224 runners were sent to neighboring villages, each carrying a bundle
202

of sticks to indicate the number of days that must elapse before the dance. The chief of the invited village arranged these sticks on end in the council house, and every day he removed one. When the last stick was gone, it was time for his party to start. 796x 224 [202]

Meantime, at the home village, samples of all the vegetable crops were gathered, ready to be piled up on the dance ground. Pits were dug for roasting corn, and jars were made ready to boil the deer meat. All the hunters of the village went out to get the deer.

The method in recent years has been to surround the deer on horseback, driving it toward concealed marksmen, who shot it. In former times, as has been told in detail for other areas, death must be caused by smothering; no blood might be shed. In any case, there must be a short ceremony before the butchering. The deer was laid with its head toward the west, as has just been described, and then four men stepped forward, one from each of the sibs. First the *dapap* man took hold of its legs and turned the body over on the other side; then the *maam* man turned it back again, after which *ápki* and *vaaf* performed similar motions. Then the ceremonial orator advanced and spoke as follows:

SPEECH BEFORE BUTCHERING THE DEER

(Kaka)

796x
224
539x

2. Hail!
Thus did my desire fulfill itself.
It was thick straw.
Therewith an image did I make and finished it.
It was the rainbow.
Therewith did I make hindlegs.
It was the Milky Way.
Therewith did I make forelegs.
It was the wind.
Therewith did I stroke the image,
And from it water dripped.

It was thick straw.
I placed it on the head [as horns]
Of broad leaves did I make the ears
Then did I fold up the wind

x 796
224
x 639

And make a snout.
It was hail.
And I made eyes.
It was the wind.
Therewith did I stroke the image,
And from it water dripped.

It seems obvious that the next three lines should have preceded "It was the wind" above. They were written as dictated, but would seem to show that a ceremonialist's memory is not infallible.

It was a cloud.
I pressed it on the buttocks [as a tail].
Then I made hair,
And I let loose the deer.

There stood a mountain, black and stony.
Toward that it leaped;
Behind the gray hill it stood.
Behind the deer there stood a flowering tree,
And behind that the youths.
They felled the deer;
They wounded it.
They ran up, the old men, the youths, the children.
They rubbed themselves [with the tail]
And prayed for a good life.(39)

x 796 224 After the speech the hunters butchered the deer in the regulation fashion. [788] When the tail was cut off, each man passed it over his body in blessing. Then it was stiffened with an arrow and given to an *áapap* man to carry home, while a *maam* man carried the meat. The bearer of the tail went to the ceremonial house circling it four times counter-clockwise. Then he entered and presented the tail to the shaman, who, perhaps, in early days made a mark on the ground as described in the first speech. All the villagers then came and passed it over their bodies saying: "Make me well. Let me have no pain."

[616] The meat was cooked without salt by two old women, one from each moiety. Before it was put on the fire the shaman waved over it a branch of cholla, of a particularly thorny variety. The branch

2

was thought to collect any sickness or evil and remove it from the meat. The meat must be cooked in new pottery jars, or if this was impossible in jars which had never been used except at the cleansing ceremony.(3) The cooking took place at night, and meantime there was dancing by a file of men and women arranged alternately, their bodies painted with white dots to represent corn. The men carried war arrows, women nothing. The dancers did all the singing, while the musicians merely used the scraping stick. At dawn all ran to a large pond, where they bathed in the cold water. The songs are realistic descriptions of deer hunting.

796x
224

SONGS FOR THE CLEANSING CEREMONY

(Kaka)

796x
224
539x

3. I am running and shouting.
Lo, I have killed a deer.
I am running and shouting.

I am whistling.
Lo, I have found the deer.
I am whistling.(3)

4. The red ocotillo flower!
There I found the deer.
They ran
And they broke it down.

The yellow chamisa[?] flower,
There I found the deer.
They rushed forth
And broke it down.(3)

5. An old male deer
Is walking.
An old male deer
Is walking.

"An arrow is sticking in me,
There it is sticking.
My head I jerk!
My tail I shake!" (3)

X796
224
X539

An old male deer
Is running.
An old male deer
Is running.

"An arrow is sticking in me,
There it is sticking.
My tail I shake!
My head I jerk!"(3)

6. My poor younger brother,
First running around,
Saw that his horns were white.[12]

He saw, my elder brother,
Afterward running around,
He saw that his horns were black.[13](3)

The deer speaks.

7. Our little Elder Brother
Made the whole earth.
I worked with him.(3)

The deer sings.

8. Bird children!
There by the place where I sing
They chatter low and sing.

Bird children!
There by the place I haunt
They chatter low and run away.(3)

9. *Haiya!*
My headdress of eagle down
Over yonder is shining! [14]

Haiya!
My headdress of feathers
Over yonder shows black.(3)

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[12] New horns have skin and hair on them. Later this falls off and leaves the horns white.

[13] The horns turn black in summer, the rainy season.

[14] Composed by the man who introduced the dance to Kaka and referring to his own headdress.

The following song belongs to the purification of an eagle killer, but it is "all right in the cleansing ceremony." 796x 224 539x

10. I met the eagle often
The green rock upon.

I met the hawk often
The white rock upon.(3)

The song given below is sung when the dance is about to end. The dancers then run to a distant pond to wash off the paint.

Beside the wide water,
There is a strand.
Very wet!(3)

During the dance the shaman might suck the piles of corn and squash on display, to remove any evil. If they had been infected, he would withdraw blood and spit it out.(4) The spectators, meantime, feasted on cooked food, either pit-baked corn or a stew of corn and beans. Toward the close of the dance the deer meat was distributed, cut into small pieces, with the recitation of a ritual now forgotten. Each person took a portion, which he rubbed downward over his face and body, saying: "Make me well." After the meat was eaten, no bones might be thrown on the ground lest a dog should carry them to a house where there was a menstruating woman. If this should happen, no more deer could be caught. All bones must be placed on top of the ceremonial house, where they remained for a year. Even those who took meat home to other members of the family must first remove the bones. 796x 224

The meat had all been distributed by the time the dance ended. The dancers took a cold bath to wash off the paint, and then they were free from restrictions.

At Santa Rosa and Archie, the preliminary announcement and speech were the same as at Kaka, and all the men of the village [184] went out to get the deer. But it must not be shot. Anyone who wounded it, either with arrow or rock, would be wounded himself in the same place. The proper method was to strangle it. The men surrounded it, on foot, clubbed it and threw it to the ground. Then a hereditary officiant with the title *mi'itcitam* (killer on an-x796 224 other's behalf) stepped into the circle, placed his foot on its neck, and strangled it. After this came the ceremony of turning the deer from one side to the other by representatives of the four sibs, then the ritual speech and the butchering.

x796 224 789 The meat was cooked the following day on the dance ground, where piles of cooked corn and squash had been brought by the villagers. Before the dance the shaman took a branch of thorny cholla and waved it over the pots in which the meat was cooking and the vegetables on display. If there were sickness in the village, he carried the thorny branch around to "collect the evil from the houses," then took the branch out to the north, the abode of evil, and buried it. While he did so, the ritual orator recited a speech for magic purposes, in a low voice, with emphasis on the last word of each sentence. In the transcribed version an ocotillo is spoken of as collecting the evil, rather than the cholla, whose thorns are finer, but more numerous.

SPEECH AT THE CLEANSING CEREMONY
(Santa Rosa)

x796 224 x634 12. Hail!
There did I call by the kinship term
My young men grown.

Toward the west was a black road made and finished.
Four stops made the youth [I sent] and speedily did come
Where stood a black ocotillo.
Not slowly back to me he came and said:

"Within itself it rustles as it stands;
Within itself it thunders as it stands;
Within itself it roars as there it stands;
Within is much soft rain.
Around it four times did I circle
And toward the west; a branch I broke with all my force.
I took it, and to you I brought it."

Therewith a part of the sickness
Did I pound into the earth and stake it down.

There was, toward the ocean, (south)
A road of many hardships made and finished.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

Four stops made the youth and speedily did come, 796^{x}
Where stood an ocotillo painful to the touch. 224
Not slowly back to me he came and said: 539^{x}

"Within itself it rustles as it stands;
Within itself it thunders as it stands;
Within itself it roars as there it stands;
Within, is much soft rain.
Around it four times did I circle
And toward the sea, a branch I broke, with all my force.
I took it and to you I brought it."

Therewith a part of the sickness,
Did I pound into the earth and stake it down.

There was toward the sunrise,
A white road made and finished.
Four stops made the youth and speedily did come
Where stood a white ocotillo.
Not slowly back to me he came and said:

"Within itself it rustles as it stands;
Within itself it thunders as it stands;
Within itself it roars as there it stands;
Within is much soft rain.
Around it four times did I circle
And toward the sunrise break a branch with all my force.
I took it and to you I brought it."

Therewith a part of the sickness
Did I pound into the earth and stake it down.

There was, toward the north,
A red road made and finished.
Four stops made the youth and speedily did come
Where stood a red ocotillo.
Not slowly back to me he came and said:

"Within itself it rustles as it stands;
Within itself it thunders as it stands;
Within itself it roars as there it stands;
Within is much soft rain.
Four times around it did I circle

x796 And toward the north a branch I broke with all my force.
224 I took it and to you I brought it."
x539

Therewith a part of the sickness
Did I pound into the earth and stake it down.

Then forth came black tarantula magician.
In four places did he bite the earth
And continue biting,
Some shreds of sickness did he fold up,
Did pound them into the earth and stake them down.

Then forth came the red wasp magicians.
In four places did they bite the earth
And continue biting.

Of the earth, in these four places,
Did they make ollas.
Within, did they pour sickness,
Did pound it into the earth and stake it down.

From above descended mighty winged birds,
Their own wing feathers did they pull out
And therewith whipped and scattered some of the sickness.
All gone it seemed.

Then came the little sleeping people [ants]
Entering my house in ceaseless journeys,
The food that caused my sickness did they take
And yonder toward the north wind did they send it.

Then did the moisture that lies above
Begin to fall,
And altogether did destroy the sickness.

Thus should you also always think,
All you my kinsmen.(4)

[576] x796 224 When the speech was over those nearby called the orator by the kinship term, by way of salutation. Then the dancers filed out of the ceremonial house and ranged themselves in a line facing east. Music was supplied by singers with scraping sticks and basket resonators, who took their places just behind the dancers. In this cere-

mony the notched stick must not be scraped with another stick, 796x
but with the foreleg of the deer. 224

Dancers were two boys and two girls (representing the children 796x
once sacrificed at this village to prevent a flood). Their bodies were 224
painted red, with white spots to represent corn. Some informants [302]
said the faces were half yellow and half white as the representatives 535
of these children were painted at the prayer-stick festival. Boys carried an arrow over the right shoulder, girls an ear of corn in each hand.

The few songs obtained deal with the dance itself. 796x 224 539x

13. The feast, the feast!
It begins and goes forward.(27)

14. What man is it
Stooping here? [over dead deer]
Oh, it is hawk meeter man
Here stooping.(12)

What man is it
Who has killed the deer?
Oh, it is the wind man; the deer he has killed!
Yonder he struggles to carry it on his head.(27)

15. Do you see, yonder coming toward us
The tail of the black deer?(27)

Poor thing brought here;
Poor thing brought here;
Poor thing brought here;
Poor thing, walking yonder on the mountains
It nearly fell!(12)

At Pisinimo in the south the *maam* sib is very important, and 184
various features of the ceremony hinge on the contrast of *maam* 616
and *dapap* or, perhaps, since the other clans are never mentioned, of their respective moieties, Buzzard and Coyote.

Here no speeches were remembered for the announcement or [184]
for butchering the deer. It was killed with arrows in the usual way 796x
but a *maam* man must bring home the meat and an *dapap* the tail. 224
Before the feast, the village elders brought the ceremonial basket from its hiding place in the desert and placed it to the east of the

x796 dance ground, but not near enough to be seen or touched, that its
224 power might not be injured. In a line between the basket and the
council house they placed, first a tuft of eagle down, then the
branch of cholla which had been waved over the deer meat, and
[789] finally an ironwood stake which was to be pounded into the
ground, thus crushing down sickness and misfortune.(1)

Before the ceremony began, two shamans, one from each moiety, took stone axes and pounded the ironwood stake until it was invisible. Then they collected evil with the cholla branch and burned it.

x796 There were two boy dancers and two girls from each moiety,
224 chosen from all the country around for their long hair. They were
535 painted in the council house by two men, one from each moiety.
616 All had their bodies covered with dots to represent corn kernels,
[802] but the Buzzards had red bodies with white dots, since "the buzzards have red flesh and hearts," while the Coyotes had white bodies
with red dots. On the crown of the head they had an eagle feather:
a down feather for the girls, wing feather for boys.

The dance was held at night. After sunset the dancers emerged from the ceremonial house in single file, boys and girls alternating, with a *maam* boy leading. As they emerged, all the *maam* dancers turned to the south, the *dapap* to the north. They arranged themselves in one long line running north and south.

x796 The singers started a song, and when it was nearly ended the
224 *maam* dancer at the south started it again. When he had nearly
533 finished, the *dapap* at the north took it up and finished. Then a
535 new song was started, and the dancing began.

Each song was sung four times: twice while the dancers stepped sidewise, twice while they flexed their knees in position. Toward morning the songs changed, and the dancers began to circle counterclockwise. With the dawn song the dancers suddenly ran about a hundred feet to the east. There they danced during the singing of three songs, and after the last song they ran back into the council house.

Most of the songs are ancient ones, relating to the origin myth, the local version of which was once recited at the ceremony, but is now forgotten.

16. Am I not Wahu shaman? 796^{x}
Am I not Wahu shaman? 224
The earth in a circle I spread out; 539^{x}
Above it the terraced clouds I erected.(9)

17. I am Kuhiu shaman;
The terraced mountains I erect.(9)

18. Thus I sing;
The earth I am piling up.
Thus I sing.

Thus I am doing;
The mountains I am piling up.
Thus I am doing.(9)

19. Verily, just now the earth was made,
Verily, just now the earth was made.
Upon it I came forth.
Am I not Yanaihuri shaman?
Upon it I came forth.(9)

20. A great shining crystal
At the foot of the earth is set.
At the foot of a white rainbow
It is set.(9)

21. I am powerful.
I run and run.
Under the east [there is] water gleaming;
Through it I run.
I am powerful.
I run and run.

I am powerful.
I run and run.
Under the west [there is] water glittering.
Through it I run.
I am powerful.
I run and run.(9)

22. I am a shaman running, running;
I am a shaman running, running;

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

x796
224
x539

This water behind me lies.
The wind blows!(9)

23. Little shaman!
Acting like a girl,
Under the brown earth
Goes along.(9)

The deer speaks.

24. Yonder I run!
Yonder, lo, I run and run again;
Yonder, just before me, there is light.(9)

25. Who is the man
Who has killed the old male deer?
Yonder he carries it on his head.
It is the wind man,
Killer of the old male deer.
Yonder he carries it on his head.(9) [12]

At this song the dancers start to move slowly toward the east.

26. Over there rainhouses appear;
Delightfully they shine.
There, under the earth,
Delightfully they shine.(9)

Dance motion causes feathers to fly from the dancer's hair.

27. They go, they go!
Many colored, painted, they go.
The feathers fly;
They start to fly.(9)

28. The western rainhouses;
Over there clouds come forth.
Over here they made an end.(9)

Final song, after which the dancers run into the council house. Afterward they go to a pond to bathe.

29. Great water [ocean]!
Beside it is much driftwood.(9)

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[12] For a song similar to No. 25 see Russell, p. 301. Some of the preceding have similarities to Russell's "Archaic Songs" pp. 275, 276.

When the dance was over, the elders gathered up the deer bones, 796x the deer tail, and the scraping sticks. They passed the deer tail 224 around the ceremonial basket, which was then taken to its hiding place in the desert. The deer bones and the scraping sticks were laid beside it. The eagle down which the dancers had worn on their heads was also put inside the basket.(1)

At the Mexican village (of Quitovaca) the dance is still performed every August, ten days before the prayer-stick ceremony. [184 171] There are no speeches, and the deer is not strangled; but there is an elaborate dance with meat hung on a pole, after the manner of the Tarahumara, farther south.[16]

The dance takes place in the daytime, the dancers being twenty 796x girls and twenty boys, with no clan restrictions. The boys' bodies 224 are painted with horizontal lines in white, and the girls' with white 302 535 splashes. The girls and unmarried men carry nothing in their hands, while the married men have feathered arrows, with which to "beckon the clouds." The line faces east, with married men at the south end, single at the north. The movements are like those at Pisinimo. To the east of the dancers is a pole on which the deer meat is tied in sacks, and when the dancers circle, it is around this pole. Only a few scattered songs were obtained.

796x
224
639x

30. The emergents, our kinsmen,
The emergents, our kinsmen,
The emergents, our kinsmen,
They have just come forth!(20)Ed.7.

31. The *maam* clan,
The *maam* clan
Here came forth;
From this reddish earth
Came forth.(20)

32. Am I not the cleansing dance?
Am I not the cleansing dance?
This land is covered with green.(20)

33. The wind blows;
Widely it seems to spread.

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[16] Bennett and Zingg, p. 279.

x796 There at the earth's edge
224 x531 It rests.(20)Ed.4.

34. The rain in a narrow strip moves along.
Under it grass and seed,
In plenty, come forth.(20)

35. There, yonder, far I go.
A little way off, a lonely hill I climb.
Toward me, the deer are straying.
I see them, and like an eagle I scream.(20)

36. [I want to be] brave like a bear.
[I want to be] brave like a puma.
Deer in a long row [would come] toward me.
When I saw them
[I would] squawk like a hawk.

37. The bear, the bear!
He touches the earth with the flat of his hand.
The puma, the puma!
He touches the mountains with the flat of his hand.(20)Ed.6.

x796 224 After the last song the dancers bathe in cold water, and then for four days they must stay in seclusion, like the warrior and the salt pilgrim, fasting from meat, grease, and salt and using the scratching stick.

184 x796 224 It will be noticed that with this ceremony each village seems to have emphasized a particular feature, while the others either have been forgotten or were never instituted. Thus, while the northern villages share the announcement and butchering speeches, it is only at Archie that the deer was ritually strangled and only at Santa Rosa that the long speech was made for annihilating evil. The south remembers no speeches at all, but has some of the oldest songs. At Pisinimo the moieties are stressed more than anywhere else, and at Quitovaca they hold to the subsequent purification for dancers, no longer required elsewhere. Some of these differences may be due to lapses of memory by the informants, since the dance is no longer held except at Kaka and Quitovaca. But others must surely be laid to a gradual differentiation between villages. Whether this meant only the dropping of some features from

an originally elaborate feast, or whether new elements like the 184
Santa Rosa speech were actually introduced, must await further investigation. 796A
224

The cleansing ceremony has been given up in all villages known 779
to the writer. Elements of it may persist in some parts of the reservation, however. At Pisinimo the ceremony seems to have been amalgamated with the Christian celebration of Holy Cross Day (see Chapter XIV).

6

INTERVILLAGE GAMES

777 THE intervillage athletic meet (*tcïrkona*) which was one of
526 the most important occasions of Papago life ranks fundamentally as a food ceremony. Its purpose has been much obscured by the practical features of gambling and merrymaking, but actually the luck which it brought was rain and therefore crops. The races themselves were not considered rain bringers, as they were in some of the Pueblos, but the winners brought luck, which in the Papago mind was always rain, to their own locality. And the singing which preceded the meet was a definite rain charm, paid for as such by the village whose name was mentioned in the songs.

526 The whole performance was an elaborate one in which the challengers offered to the challenged a set of rain-bringing songs, with dancing and paraphernalia which raised them almost to the rank of an operetta. For this offering they were paid in food. Then came the athletic contest, in which both contestants bet all the accumulated goods of a year. Those who had paid for the singing might easily win back their investment and leave the challengers bankrupt. Goods changed hands on such a large scale that this betting contest might almost be said to take the place of a market. It was certainly the most important occasion for economic exchange.

The chief contest was a race. It might be one of the long kickball races of the Southwest, where two or three men on each side kicked a ball over a course of ten or fifteen miles and return, or it might be a relay race where all the men on each side spelled each other over a course of a half or a quarter mile, some men running two

or three times. After the men's race there might be a woman's game 526
of double ball and a woman's race.

The parties to the meet were not single villages, but village units 526
consisting of a parent village with all its daughters and its "wells." 621
Two such units might have a standing contest which carried on for years, each challenging alternately. But occasionally several units joined together to challenge another group: two whole dialect divisions might find themselves arrayed on opposite sides, or one division against the Pima.

Plans were made at the beginning of the summer, when the people 526
assembled at the "field" village before they separated. Then, if 623
there were no regular contest in progress, the runners or their families suggested to the game leader that they felt ready for a meet. The game leader presented the matter to the village council, who, perhaps, tested the runners to make up their minds and then decided whom they would challenge and what the race should be. Then the game leader paid a formal call on the game leader of the opposite side to convey the challenge and settle details.

The runners practiced all summer under the supervision of the 526
game leader or some trainer chosen by him. There was no pay for such work, since the trainer was helping to win for his village and would share in its betting gains. The village elders, all of whom were vitally interested in the outcome, frequently advised and encouraged the runners.

THE SKIPPING DANCE

Beside training its athletes, the village prepared a musical per- 535
formance to be presented to its opponents. Of these performances, 727
the most elaborate was the skipping dance (*tcīrkona*). The word means a motion exactly like that of children skipping along a sidewalk. But the performance was not merely a dance; it was a rudimentary form of opera. Some singer dreamed a series of songs, referring to a visionary experience of his own. Then he trained a number of girls and boys to perform dance evolutions, carrying effigies which referred to his dream. Records tell of singers who were famous for wind songs, ocean songs, cloud songs, crane songs.

535 There were only a few such singers in the country, and the challenging
533 village might have to send for one from some distance. He
worked without pay, other than his food and the fame he received.
[824] He selected a number of boys and girls who had agile bodies and
the great desideratum, long glossy hair. These he trained in the
dance maneuvers, and meantime, the older men learned his songs
and made the effigies under his direction. Often he required elaborate
representations, which might take months to produce. Reports
mention cranes made of raw cotton or smaller birds of painted
[532] wood mounted on sticks which could be waved as though the birds
were flying. Sometimes there were rainbows of painted buckskin,
cloud symbols of cotton, and flowers of wood or vegetable matter.

777 The men of the village met frequently to sing songs which would
533 give their side good luck in running. Toward the end of the practice
time they sang every night. One or more shamans sat with them
to "see" whether their opponents were working any evil spells and
also to work spells on their own behalf.

526 Ten days before the final event a bundle of sticks was sent by
[211] messenger to the opponents. On the tenth day the challengers
202 started, men, women, and children, taking their effigies, dance costumes,
and all the property they could afford to bet on the game.
They planned to arrive at their opponent's village on the day before
the games and to camp outside it. From this final camping
place they sent into the village two messengers in war array. All
accounts heard assumed the use of the horse and of the lance, and
even called this formal challenge by a Hispanicized term which
sounds like "harlequinade."[1]

The messengers had their faces painted black, as did warriors
[802] and the announcers for the drinking ceremony. "Black means madness
[302] or dizziness."(9) One was on horseback, carrying a lance, his
other clothing being the most elaborate he had. The other, also
with black face, was on foot. They presented themselves at the race
track, where the man on horseback stood up in his stirrups and
delivered his message. The villagers, who had gathered to receive

[1] Although the challenge was in the form of play, it seems probable that it symbolized the real hostility and fear once felt by the contesting groups. If they belonged to different dialect divisions, this might be the only occasion when they met, and they surrounded it with formalities.

him, pelted him with dried squash stems, which have a sharp 626
calyx. Then they chased both messengers out of the village. Later 202
another messenger was sent, his face being black only from the eyes down. He viewed the race track to see that it was not bewitched, and he, also, was chased out of the village. After this the challengers entered, singing and dancing.[2] The hosts, after the entertainment, gave them food.

The Papago villagers might chase the messengers almost back to 533
the camp of the challengers. That night the women of the challenged village came out to sing for the challengers and to make them welcome. They sang "any songs they could remember," but as lively ones as possible.

SONGS BY WOMEN OF THE CHALLENGED VILLAGE 539x

1. I tied up the wind;
Far yonder I tied it up.
On Toad Mountain I sat tying it.
There, before me, the mountains stood,
With haze on their summits.(9)

2. Under Baboquiviri
I lay down to sleep.
Something frightened me.
Alarmed, I jumped up,
Looking in all directions.(9)

Before dawn the dancers from the visiting village painted their 535
bodies and made ready the dance paraphernalia. Then, with black-face messengers at their head and the dancers following, the whole

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[2] Santaren, a Jesuit missionary, gives similar details in connection with a challenge [171]
to pelota among the Acaxee, about 1600. The contest, in this case, was held on the ball ground of the challenging village. For four nights previously, there was singing which appears to have been a song cycle. It was started each night by two armed warriors who appeared on the walls of the ball court and issued a summons. The people then entered, singing and dancing. On the day of play, these warriors mounted the walls and the villagers entered as usual. "As they were about to dance, the visitors came in from one side, dressed and armed as for battle and began to shoot blunt arrows at the two warriors on the walls. The warriors tried to avoid these or ward them off with their shields but they were forced shortly to withdraw and were followed by the dancers, the visitors left in possession of the ground." (Beals, 1933, p. 13.) In both cases it is the challenged side which finally holds the field, though in the Papago case this is the host village, in the Acaxee case, the guest village.

536 village marched singing into the camp of their opponents. They went straight to the dance ground, which they circled once counterclockwise, shouting. Then they took their places on the side of the plaza, which corresponded to the direction from which they had come, while their hosts sat at the opposite side.

Before the actual skipping dance there was a preliminary performance called *tá'iwuñi* (jumping out), a ceremonial of challenge. [302] The performer was a man called *kúata'k* (ant). The right half of his face was painted red, and the left black, while his arms and legs were red with white spots representing seeds. He wore [292] a short kilt and carried a basket drum. In each hand he also carried an eagle wing-feather.

This man rushed in from the direction from which the challengers had come and hurled down his basket drum. Four singers appeared. One thumped the drum violently; and the other sang, while the "ant" stood in front of them, waving his feathers. After the song, the performers leaped up and rushed out, shouting. Four men, waiting with a blanket, received the "ant" into it, so that he seemed to disappear. Thus, he was escorted to the next point on the compass, in a counterclockwise direction, when he and the singers rushed in again, and the performance was repeated. This they did for all four points of the compass.

[177] A more recent version of this prelude calls the performer merely "he who jumps out" and states that his face and body are painted white. He dances, accompanied by singers with one basket drum and four rattles. The song is sung four times at each point of the compass: twice tapping the basket, with rattles horizontal; twice scraping, with rattles vertical.

JUMPING OUT SONG

x[539] 3. Longing to see the world,
Far, far yonder did I run.
Over there at the fields of the Hollow Place,
Far over there, did I rush out.(26)

The song was sung at the Hollow Place (San Xavier), but any other name might be inserted.

After this preliminary ceremony, the game leaders of the two

After this preliminary ceremony, the game leaders of the two sides made speeches. These were in such ancient language that they were untranslatable, but the general meaning was said to be as follows: 535 537 198 539x

Game leader for the challengers.

"Hail, friend!
Thus are my doings. Here I arrive.
We shall see the result."

Game leader of the challenged village.

"Hail, friend! Thus it has happened.
You have arrived here. You will look on my field,
Covered with drought. You will look on it.
We shall see what will be."(26)

Then the musicians, with scraping sticks and baskets, took their places, and the skipping dance began. The dancers were generally ten boys and ten girls. The boys wore kilts, and the girls, the usual wrap-around skirt. They were barefoot, with their long hair flowing and with their faces and bodies painted in any way dictated by the dream of the song composer. He might decide on symbols never used before, or he might demand elaborate pictorial representations of birds and corn. 535

The regular formation for the skipping dance was a file of couples—boys on the right, girls on the left. They went around the dance place counterclockwise, alternately walking and skipping, in conformity with the music. This had two phases, one known as "they hold in," and one as "they give out." We may call them for brevity, the strong phase and the weak phase. In the weak phase, which always came first, the basket drums were tapped and the dancers walked, holding their symbols low. In the strong phase, the drums were scraped and symbols held with both hands above the head. It was in the strong phase that the composer introduced any mimetic movements which his dream dictated. There were eight songs, each sung eight times or sometimes sixteen.

The dance described below is the last which was given by the Indians on their own initiative, though recently they have revived it under White auspices and with an entrance fee. The one described was given in 1927, when the northern villages "sang for" [541]

535 San Xavier, "the Hollow Place." The composer's dream had concerned the morning star who visited him in the form of a woman. The dancers carried effigies of the things she had shown him: white cranes, flying over from the Pacific coast and rainbows. The cranes [539] were life size, made of raw cotton on a framework of twigs, with bills and feet painted yellow. The rainbows were made of arches of ocotillo withes, three feet wide at the base. Over the arch was stretched a half disk of muslin on which was painted the rainbow. Black streaks across the base of the arch represented rain.

The girl dancers wore white, the color of the cranes, but a cotton dress substituted for the single wrapped skirt of older days. The boys wore women's skirts, substituted for the old short kilt. All had headdresses representing clouds. These were made of a helmet-shaped framework of bent sticks covered with raw cotton. One girl, who represented the morning star, had a small circular mirror attached to the front of her headdress. This, in former times, would have been abalone shell.

SONGS FOR THE SKIPPING DANCE, 1927(2)

x539
535

The file of couples proceeds in a circle, first walking, then skipping.

4. From the west they run
To sing for us.
There I stand and see
That it is good.
Yonder I see them run,
Holding the rainbows high.

5. Crane birds!
Side by side, in a row!
Under you I stand, and look.
You go a little way and spread out.
Behind you it is raining.

At the third line, the couples spread out in a row and skip forward, then running back to the starting point, where they repeat the maneuver.

6. There, indeed, I stand
And toward the west stretch out my hands.
The mist I summon.
It comes. The earth dissolves.

Then, as I walk, I sink down deep (in the moist earth); 539x
I stand in the midst of the land. 535
I think it good.

From the fifth line on, the dancers raise their feet as though walking heavily in mud.

7. In the night
The rain comes down.
Yonder, at the edge of the earth,
There is a sound like cracking.
There is a sound like falling.
Down yonder, it goes on slowly rumbling,
It goes on shaking.

Couples skip in file, raising fetishes.

8. The fields of the Hollow Place
Lie in hollow land.
There came [a village] and sang for them.
Beside [the dancers] I run,
Holding out my hands.
We take our gifts, clutch them and run.

At the word "take," the dancers hold their symbols with the left hand and, with the right, make motions of catching gifts thrown to them.

9. Who is the woman who will lead me?
And where will you lead me?
Morning star woman brings me forward.
When I, surprised, have seen her,
My heart is deeply stirred.
This, her glance, shines greatly over the earth.

During the weak phase, Morning Star walks ahead of the file; at the strong phase, she stands aside, dancing, while the others pass her.

10. The mist rises
And lies in this direction.
It lies at the base of the mountains;
It lies deep under them.
Thither I came.
It caught me.
And fine rain sifted over me.
The earth grew very green.

635 639

11. Then we, having sung,
Go back whence we came.
Watch! It will not be long
Till the earth grows very green.

During the last two repetitions of the song, the dancers arrange themselves side by side and still skipping, they move off the dance ground. When they pass the singers, they break into a run, which they keep up until they reach their own camp.

635 574 Everyone in the host village gathered to watch the skipping dance, and anyone who wished might leave the crowd and skip by the side of some favored visitor. As a rule, only old women had the boldness to do this. The act was considered an honor to the visitor, and his relatives generally met them as they returned, breathless, and presented some small gift, such as a basket or a headband. Song number eight refers to this practice.

789 536 574 The performance was in the nature of an elaborate rain charm, for the benefit of the host village. The name of the village was always mentioned, and the very pronouncing of it in such a connection was a guarantee of blessing. At one of the recent paid performances the number of repetitions of the songs was cut down, lest the White audience be bored. The result was "only a little shower, just over the Hollow Place and nowhere else. If the dance had been properly done, we should all have had rain."

574 476 For the blessing thus brought to their village, the hosts were prepared to pay. They had held a meeting beforehand and decided on the contribution to be made by each.[8] Such a contribution was considered a public duty, and it also assured special prosperity to him who made it. Moreover, next year, when his village was in turn the challenger, he would receive equal value and, if his host could afford it, even more. The payment was an investment on his own behalf and that of his village. But it was often made in a burlesque form, calculated to add to the general merriment.

574 The hostesses brought cooked food to the dance ground, and sometimes threw it to the dancers during their performance. They might also chase them, as they ran for camp, hurling food at them. The dancers washed off their paint and returned to the plaza, where

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[8] Underhill, 1939, pp. 106–10.

the hostesses served cooked food to all the visitors. One informant 574
had seen a hostess arrive with a huge dish of boiled beans which she offered to the singers. She tried to feed them with her hand; they refused, and she smeared the food on their faces. After this, each householder of the challenged village advanced to one of the visitors and said: "You go to my house for your pay." At the house they were given cooked food, clothes, skins, and baskets. But it might be that the naming songs were to follow the skipping dance. In that case, payment was deferred until the whole performance was over. More often, the two entertainments were alternatives and either one or the other was given.

THE NAMING CEREMONY

The naming ceremony was, like the skipping dance, a charm 574
performed by the visitors to secure good luck to their hosts. It 789
consisted of a series of songs celebrating the name of every important man in the village. Mentioning of names in this manner was akin to the mentioning of animal names in songs to cure sickness. The auspicious circumstances brought good luck to the person [777]
mentioned, and, though using names was often undesirable, it was here a success charm.

This entertainment required no effigies and no new songs. Each 551
village had a series of songs, some celebrating a shaman, some a 574
wise man, some a warrior, and into this framework they could fit 633
any name they pleased, by lengthening or shortening the lines. It was the custom so to fit the names of their hosts and to be paid for the compliment.[4]

When naming songs were to be sung, the visitors must hear the names to be used on the night before the ceremony, or even earlier, in order to commit them to memory. While they were camped outside the village of their hosts, in the usual way, they sent a messenger to signify their intention and to ask for the names. The host village held a meeting to select the names, since each man sung for would have to provide a substantial gift. Usually there

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[4] Russell, p. 171, describes a naming ceremony for the Pima, although he says nothing about a skipping dance or a ceremony of challenge.

557 was a regular system of gift partners who alternately sang for and
574 paid each other. All such men in the host village gave their names,
533 knowing that their partners would do the same for them next year.
Now and then a new man would volunteer, either because he had acquired relatives-in-law among the challengers or merely because he hoped to establish friendly relations. Sometimes one who was dissatisfied with the gifts he had been receiving would drop out.

When the names had been decided upon, the hosts sent four of their elders to the camp of the visitors, to act as censors of the songs and to reject any that did not please them. These elders sat in a row beside the singers of the visitors. A selected man from the visitors, whom we may call the prompter, sat in front of the row. It was his business to remember the names as they were presented and to remind the singers the next day. This was a responsible task,
[564] since there might be twenty or thirty names and all must be men-
[211] tioned in order of their importance. The device used was that of
a number of sticks, each representing a particular name.

A boy arrived from the host village, bearing the first two sticks, for names were always "sung for" in pairs. He threw one stick down before the prompter, saying: "Sing for So-and-So." The prompter replied: "I have heard, friend!" Then the boy threw down the other stick in the same way and the prompter, fingering the sticks, repeated the two names until he had fixed them in his memory. Meanwhile the singers behind him decided which of their songs would fit the names. They tried over several, and then sang the one selected. The delegates from the host village listened, and if they thought the words inappropriate, they objected. The singers tried over their repertoire, altering to suit the case, until they had a song that was acceptable.

Meanwhile another boy had arrived, with two more sticks, and the same process was gone through. The prompter, who had memorized the names, kept all the sticks and used them as a mnemonic device the next day. The names must appear in a certain order; shamans first, then the keeper of the smoke, then warriors, then elders. The prompter kept the sticks tied together in this order.

When the songs had been decided upon, the singers might practice a whole day before they presented their performance, many of the villagers learning the songs and singing with them. When 533 they were ready, they either presented the skipping dance and then 551 the naming songs, or else the naming songs alone. In either case, 574 the first act was the challenge and the songs to the four directions. Before the naming songs, the whole of the visiting village marched around the plaza, two by two. Then they took their places, at one side of the plaza and a group of boys and girls danced during the naming songs just as they did in the visiting dance.

The first song sung was always "for the fields," since this was [221] in November when the hosts had not left for the "wells," their winter camp. Mentioning the richness of the fields automatically brought the result. After that came songs for the shamans and the other prominent men in turn, always ascribing to them the blessings or the qualities they would like to have. The prompter sat beside the singers, with all the sticks in a row in front of him, and as each pair of names was disposed of, he removed the corresponding sticks.

NAMING SONGS

FOR THE FIELD

12. It is full daylight, 539x
And I sing. 551
It is full daylight, 574
And I sing.
Lo, it is Komari'k field!
Very rich it is;
I sing for it.

It is full daylight,
And I sing.
It is full daylight,
And I sing.
Lo, it is Field of the Black Hill [Tucson].
Very rich it is;
I sing for it.(9)

FOR THE SHAMANS

13. [As we march] along
The shamans come forth with us;
The shamans come forth with us.

539 Jose, who shoots [an Apache] bow;
551 Juan Miguel, who shoots at his scalp basket.
574 As we walk along,
The shamans come forth with us.(9)

Nothing more daring could be conceived than the two acts mentioned above.

14. Follow it, follow it, follow it!
The white bow of the great shaman
Becomes a snake.
Over our fields it glides.
The blue bow of the lesser shaman
Becomes a snake.
Over our fields it glides.
Follow it, follow it, follow it!(9)

FOR WARRIORS

15. Is it your fame
Which comes forth, loud sounding?
Is it your fame
Which comes forth, loud sounding?
Juan Enos,
Your fame far sounding?
It girds Old Man Mountain [in Apache country]
Like a bandolier.

Navel Hole,
Your fame far sounding,
It girds the Four Peaks [in the Apache country]
Like a bandolier.
Is it your fame
Which comes forth, loud sounding?(9)

16. He is dizzy with it!
He is dizzy with it.
Mad Bull Ears,
With his big shield, is dizzy.

He is drunk with it;
He is drunk with it.
Anton,

With his fine club, is drunk; 539x
He is drunk with it, 551
He is drunk with it.(9) 574

17. Over there came one
On the flat land.
There sounded stamping,
At Tecalote, Big Coyote,
Having killed an Apache,
Sang.
Upon the flat land
There sounded stamping.
On the mountains
There sounded rattling.
At Wupatahi, Big Catclaw,
Having killed an Apache,
Sang.
Upon the mountains
There sounded rattling.[8]

After each song, the elders of the visiting party appointed some- 551
one to receive the gifts, provided by the men sung for. An enemy 533
slayer went to an enemy slayer; a headbearer to a headbearer. The 574
present given for the fields was received by the very old man of the visiting party. Those designated to receive gifts did not go to get them themselves, but sent their women with carrying baskets. It was a game for women of the host village to chase and pelt the visitors as they went off with their booty, upsetting pots of syrup over their heads and aiming tortillas at their faces. The wives of the hosts sometimes danced and made motions illustrative of their husbands' exploits while the names of the men were being sung.

RACING

When the hosts had made full payment for blessings received, 526
they had a chance to win back their investment by betting on the race. If the preliminaries were over by noon, this might take place the same day. More often it was postponed to the next morning, and the intervening time was occupied in making bets. Wagered

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[8] For a Pima naming song similar to this and the previous one see Russell, p. 285.

526 goods were placed in a pile, with a shaman from each side to guard them, lest they be bewitched. Men and women all bet every article they had with them, including their scanty clothing. Informants remembered no betting ceremony for the men, but the following was reported for the women.

During the meal after the dance an old woman from the challenged village came dancing into the camp of the challengers, carrying on her head a bundle of wagered goods. She sang:

^[639]
All the stakes
I am carrying on my head.
Tied in a bundle,
I carry them on my head.(19)

A woman of the challengers' camp took the bundle from her and danced in the same way. Then the wagered goods of the challengers were matched with it. There was never any betting between the sexes: women bet with women, and men with men.

533 When all the wagered goods had been collected, they were placed
526 in a pile, matched two by two. While shamans of both sides guarded the pile, their men gathered in their respective camps, each group to sing songs for its own runners. The same songs usually applied to both running and kickball. Even songs designed to weaken an enemy in war could be used. However, one of the sets obtained was declared by informants to be for running, the other for kickball, and therefore they have been so classified.

SONGS FOR RUNNERS[*]

526
x539
18. It is evening and I sing.
Here I shall run;
Here I shall rush out quickly.(39)

19. Toward the west songs are sounding.
Then I, much stirred,
Come forth and run;
The wind blows hard;
It leads me by the hand;
I meet the sun
And throw it high [like a ball].(22)

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[*] For Pima running songs see Russell, pp. 283, 298.

526
539x

20. I come forth!
I come forth!
Bearing a cloud on my head
I come forth!(3)

21. The hawk laid out the racetrack;
The hawk laid out the racetrack;
On it the man won. Ah!

Wild, the man came here;
Wild, the man came here;
A hawk's heart he won. Ah!(22)

22. I am a great shaman,
Many things I can do.
I run, miserable I, I run,
Wearing a headdress of eagle down,
I run and run.(22)

TO CRIPPLE A RIVAL RUNNER

23. From the east
A black bear came;
This, my flesh,
All over trembled,
And toward the west
It trembled.

TO BEWILDER A RIVAL RUNNER

24. Deep night falls; overhead
A great cloud comes.(39)

SONGS FOR KICKBALL RACERS[7]

25. I speed my kickball.
Over the flat ground it runs.
Between the spreading branches and beyond
It settles down.(19)

The runner bids the ball run between the spreading branches and come out on the other side, not to stick there and have to be rescued and slow up the race.

26. A little woman shaman I!
I cannot find my light [crystal].

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[7] For Pima kickball songs see *ibid.*, pp. 172-73.

I go searching in vain.
Nearby in the east
The reeds stand in a row,
Among them I am searching.(19)

The shaman with his power makes sandy ground to impede his opponents.

27. Just yonder
Lies a stretch of sandy ground.
There I pass him [my competitor],
And loudly I challenge him.(19)

TO WEAKEN A RIVAL

28. Poor man!
Poor man!
I try to draw near the rainbow.
It is receding.(19)

29. Hard I am running, my friend.
There in the east nearby
Is icy water.
Wretched I!
I seem farther and farther away.(19)

30. Toward the west
Songs were sounding.
Excited, I rushed forth.
I met the bitter wind
And tossed it up [like a ball].

Toward the west
Songs were sounding.
Excited, I rushed forth.
I met the sun
And tossed it up [like a ball].(19)

31. At the edge of the flat land,
Here I come out and run.
On top of the mountain,
Here I come out and run.
Evening falls while I run.(19)

32. There lies the race track;
On it the hawk's heart he won.

526
539x

The quiet man came forth,
And the hawk's heart he won
[Racing with the hawk].(19)

33. A little woman shaman
Sends her familiar, the gray dove,
To fly across me.
Yonder, in front of me, it is drawing close.(19)

34. Evening is falling!
Like an eagle I move
Back and forth.

Morning is standing!
Like a hawk I run
Back and forth.(19)

Though all these songs were charms for success, the shamans were expected to make special magic. This service was unpaid, as were all their public activities, "but they bet on the race like the others, and a clever shaman could make his side win and grow very rich."(19) The rival shamans sometimes indulged in a contest of fire eating and sword swallowing. Shamans of one side went through mimetic actions that stimulated the winning of the race, and two of them sometimes charmed the kickball by sitting down and rolling it between them, singing: 526 789

35. We roll the kickball
Here on the flat ground,
Bringing good luck.(19)

[539]x

When the time for the race arrived, each side took a stick and cut into it as many notches as they had runners. The stick was hammered down into the ground near the racetrack, with the idea of hiding the runners from their opponents. The shaman who hammered it sang:

36. Whence comes the shaman
Who drives [the stake] into the ground
Till it disappears?
Here he comes.(19)

[539]x

626 [78] There was no magic treatment of the runners themselves. The whole effort was to keep them safe behind the lines and guard them from bewitchment by the other side. In some of the last races which informants remembered, the runners were mounted behind men on horseback, who galloped up to the starting point with them at the last moment. The race, with the stick dice and the women's shinny game, lasted all day. At its close, the visitors gathered up their goods and left without ceremony.

[171] The Papago still hold races between villages, though without much ceremony. The skipping dance and the naming songs have been entirely given up except when the former is presented as a spectacle for the whites.

7

THE PRAYER-STICK FESTIVAL

EVERY fourth winter among the northern Papago, every sum- 796x
mer among the southern Papago, there took place a peculiarly 184x
sacred ceremony, the *wiikita*. This has been spoken of as a harvest festival, but it did not come at harvest time, and its purpose, say the Papago, was to "keep the world in order" and prevent a flood. Keeping the world in order was a function of the Pueblo solstice ceremonies, and, indeed, the respective dates of the prayer-stick festival come as near to summer and winter solstices as they do to harvest. It seems more accurate, therefore, to use some approach to the Papago name. The word *wiiki* means bird down, and *ta*, made. That which is made of bird down is a prayer stick, and the *wiikita* was the time, above all others, when prayer sticks were used. In these pages it will be called the prayer-stick festival.

The feast was instituted by I'itoi during his march of conquest. 796x
While leading the people through Papagueria, he placed prayer 773
sticks of turkey feathers[1] at two places: Archie, among the north- 184
ern Papago, and Quitovaca, now in Sonora. This was to signify that the people should settle first of all in these places[2] and that the turkey should be their food. The prayer-sticks marked the chosen sites, while the people crossed water and finally returned. They came first to Archie, where they settled in force, and therefore Archie has for years had the elaborate quadrennial festival in

[1] According to Parsons (1939, Vol. I, p. 290) turkey feathers are the commonest of all feathers used on Pueblo prayer sticks.

[2] Note the Jemez myth that the people on reaching their present site put down red stained eagle feathers "to be the roots of the town." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 255.

773 early December. Only a few went on to Quitovaca, which has a
184 much smaller festival every August. The two ceremonies are so different as to need separate descriptions.

THE WINTER CEREMONY[3]

x796 The San Xavier calendar stick, which records the important
208 events among the northern villages for the last eighty years, has, regularly every four years, a blue dot to represent the prayer-stick festival at Archie. It was discontinued after 1912, but revived in 1932, and now the Archie people plan to continue it regularly. It is, as has been mentioned, a co-operative effort on the part of Archie and her daughter villages and serves as a general reunion, when every family of Archie stock returns to camp around the mother village and shares in the general blessing.

x796 The villages of this common family are those which occupy one
361 of the typical north and south valleys of Papagueria, extending in
621 this case from Archie on the north to Big Fields on the south.
8 Archie is the oldest settlement and almost contiguous with it is its daughter Santa Rosa, divided into two sections known as the Burnt Seeds and Palo Verde Standing. The other offspring are scattered down the valley, the most important being the ancient town first called Mesquite Root, then Iron Pump and now deserted for Big Fields, where its farms are.

x796 Archie, Santa Rosa, and Iron Pump always join for the prayer-
621 stick festival. With them is the neighbor village Akchin, more distantly related and with offshoots in another valley. Finally they admitted a comparatively new settlement, belonging to people of another dialect who had moved near them. This was Anegam, (place of the willows). These towns co-operate and sing against each other as do *kivas* and moieties in localities of a different organization. All their offshoots and "relatives" come to the ceremony and camp nearby, each identifying itself, for the singing, with its mother village.[4]

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[3] Briefly described in Mason, 20.

[4] In the account of the prayer-stick festival for 1932, one informant substituted Palo Verde Standing for Iron Pump, claiming that the latter has now almost no inhabitants. It is former Iron Pump people who live at Palo Verde.

The prayer-stick festival is the most sacred of all ceremonies, 796x laying more restrictions on the participants than any other and demanding more secrecy. Women may not even see the preparations. The speeches are considered so sacred that, though the [778] writer found it possible to transcribe all others, these were refused, on the ground that to recite them at any but festival time would mean death.

The officials of the festival were all hereditary. Each village has 796x a ceremonial director who was in function a priest, and one of 795 them is director-in-chief. Below him is a hierarchy of lesser officials which forms an interesting contrast to the loose organization of most Papago feasts. Officials of the festival are: general director; 4 village directors; head ceremonial clown; thirty or more village clowns; head corn meal sprinkler; assistant sprinklers; forty song composers, eight for each of the five villages; three men to paint the singer, one for red paint, one white, one black; man to wait on the fasting director; helper for the corn dancers; corn-meal sprinklers for the corn dancers; woman to make dishes for the fasting director. The only functions not hereditary are those of the dancers and singers who give the actual performance. Of these, one volunteers and the others are chosen for their long hair.

In years when the quadrennial ceremony was to take place, the 796x director-in-chief sent a notice unofficially to the song composers long beforehand, so that they might make preparations. But his official announcement came only fourteen days before the ceremony and was, in itself, a ceremonial. The sub-directors were aware when this announcement was to be made and were waiting at their houses. The director made the circuit of the five villages on foot, in the order, Palo Verde (substituting for Iron Pump), Santa Rosa, Anegam, Akchin, and Archie. This produced, roughly, a counterclockwise circuit. At each village, he went to the house of the village director and stood outside without speaking. The local man emerged, and then the director went forward without speaking toward the next village, the other following. So he collected all his men, who followed him silently, in single file, to Archie.

Here they circled the ceremonial house counterclockwise and then seated themselves in a circle, the director facing east. A few x 792 spectators had gathered, and on one of these the director threw a little corn meal, bidding him summon the villagers. The throwing of corn meal was the ritual procedure for making any request during the preparations. When the audience arrived, the director announced that in four days he would return to open the basket used at this festival.

The four sub-directors could now go home, but the director was placed by the performance in the state of a man undergoing purification. He returned toward his village, and at some point outside it built a small fire and established his retreat. Here he stayed, except when directing the preparations in the village. He must remain sexually continent, must sleep little, and must keep his fire very small, not even blowing it when he added wood. He used only new dishes, which were made for him by a special woman whose office was hereditary. A male helper, whose office was also hereditary, brought the director his food twice a day and poured it into the dishes on the spot. The food was gruel made of the ancient vegetable foods of the Papago: corn, squash, or the wild crops. It must be poured into the director's dish with great care, since spilling brought illness. The director sat in the position of a man [516] undergoing purification, with head bowed and arms folded. He was expected to stay awake until everyone in the village was asleep.

Four days after the first announcement, the five leaders met again and went to Archie to open the ceremonial basket. This was not a village fetish, but a special property of the ceremony, kept at Archie only because that was the place of meeting. The five seated themselves as before. This time the director-general entered the ceremonial house and brought out the plaited basket in which were kept the turkey feather prayer sticks used for the ceremony, some raw cotton used to represent clouds, and the ten tally sticks, which were placed upright in the Archie ceremonial house after the usual Papago custom. One of them would be removed every night until the eve of the feast arrived. This basket, the director held in his arms "as though it were a baby" and then passed it counterclockwise to the other men, who did the same. This was also the procedure used with baskets containing enemy trophies. After [193] each had held it, the director made a ritual speech, murmuring the words in a rumbling tone "to sound like thunder."

the words in a rumbling tone "to sound like thunder." This speech 796x
was not recorded.

They now prepared the scene where the feast was to be held. In front of the space where the dances would be performed they made a symbolic representation of the fields of all five villages. The director threw corn meal on one of the spectators and bade him bring sand. This helper, like all the others in important ceremonies, must run at his task, not walk. He filled a blanket full of sand several times, and disposed of it in front of the ceremonial house where the leaders sat. The director measured a plot about a hundred feet square. He marked this space into compartments "representing the fields" of each town concerned. After he had indicated the measurements, the other four leaders, as representatives of their villages, made the sand into piles with which they marked the boundaries of their respective fields, each in the direction in which its village lies. In these sand piles were placed the turkey-feather prayer sticks from the basket, eight in each pile.

This done, the basket was closed and returned to its place in
the ceremonial house, and the spectators were told that the public
performance of the ceremony would take place in ten days, to
be reckoned by the tally sticks. Each leader returned to his own
village, and that evening he summoned the men and announced
the ten days of festival. His summons was the swinging of a bull [202]
roarer. Every man and youth in the village was expected to attend
and, with them, the members of related villages who had come in
to camp for the purpose. The leader made a speech outlining their
duties for the next ten days, when all were supposed to be at his
disposal and ready to work. Next morning they started.

Their first duty was to build a temporary brush enclosure in [244]
which to work at the making of ceremonial paraphernalia. The
enclosure was roofless, like the old winter hunting camps, and
consisted merely of upright cactus ribs, with a thatching of greasewood.
It was made in less than a day, and when it was finished the
men sat down inside to sing for an hour "to make it stand up."

They had now to learn the songs which would be presented at 796x
the ceremony and to fashion the effigies which would illustrate 533
them. Each village had eight hereditary song composers. These

*796 were expected, at each prayer-stick festival to "dream" a new song 533 on some traditional subject, such as clouds, mountains, deer, corn. Each man's song had always the same subject and the same place in the series. The song composer had been notified ahead of time, had composed his song and collected the materials for the effigy, which he supplied himself. One man, whose subject was always deer, took six months to kill three deer, mount and stuff them.

*796 At this time, according to one informant(13), the men prepared prayer-stick materials, cutting the short sticks, straightening the cotton string, and sorting turkey-down feathers. The actual tying of the feathers was done by the leaders, who retired to an arroyo to work in secret. They made enough for distribution to every man present. Another informant(2), said that no layman would be allowed to touch such materials and that the leaders did all the work, distributing only to the older men of each village.

On the night of the general announcement the village director visited each composer, threw corn meal on him, and bade him come to the shelter the next day. The composer brought his materials and commandeered as many men as he needed to help him. If more materials were needed, the director threw corn meal on a man and sent him to get them. Most of the older men of the village were thus occupied.

The young men practiced as singers and dancers. No stated number was required: there might be any number from eight to thirty. They were known as *vipinyim,* singular *vinyim,* which is the word for north. The explanation is unsatisfactory, but since many features of the ceremony strongly recall the Pueblos to the north of the Papago, it is possible that the name refers to the district from which the feast was brought.

The singers were among the few concerned with the ceremony whose function was not hereditary. Anyone who wished might volunteer, but, having done so, he must continue until he was too old to dance. Practically, a man who had done this was likely to pass his paraphernalia on to his son. The costume consisted of a kilt, once of undyed cotton, later any woman's skirt obtainable, with a bright-colored scarf around the waist as a substitute for the girdle once worn. At the belt he wore bells or shell rattles. He was barefoot, but had cocoon rattles on the ankles. His mask was made from half a gourd cut lengthwise. It was divided horizontally into three broad stripes: the topmost painted black, the middle, white, the lowest, red. There were no eye holes, but a number of small perforations permitted seeing and breathing. The kilt and mask were generally kept from one prayer-stick festival to another in a jar in the performer's house. 796 x

To precede the singers in the procession the village leader selected a boy about twelve years old, who was known as *kócpatam* (untranslated). He wore a mask made of the upper half of a gourd, so cut that four or five inches of the gourd stem projected as a snout. He carried a wand tipped with blue feathers, and his duty was to sing in a high piping voice, the first and the last words of each song. This boy was selected by the leader because he had a "good head to learn the songs and because he would not go to sleep or cry with the cold."

All the men and boys of each village were occupied in the enclosure, sometimes without leaving it, until the day of the ceremony. Work began at dawn, with an hour's practice in singing the new songs. Each composer sang his song twelve times, and all the men followed as best they might. Those who wished to act as singers on the final occasion volunteered, but all learned the songs, "to help them." After singing they worked, under the direction of the song composers, on the effigies to illustrate the songs.

The work lasted until dark. The men did not leave the enclosure, but their women might bring food and leave it outside, to supplement the donations which were brought by the clowns. The men might not talk loud or laugh. As they moved about they must always stoop. All objects must be held close to the ground, and even when they smoked, the cigarette must be in this position.

Each evening, when work was over, the village leader addressed the workers:

1. Well, then, hurry, see! Here once again has the sun gone down, now approaches the day. Therefore you are to work here, you ought to try and finish within [ten] days.(13) [539] x

796 After this they practiced the songs until midnight or later. No one might leave until practice was over and the leader dismissed them. Then the workers might go home, to return early in the morning. [834] There seem to have been no sexual restrictions on the workers, or even on the singers, but all officials must remain continent during the whole time of preparation. The village leader generally stayed in the shelter all night, and many of the men kept him company. The women brought food to the door, and the men often cooked for themselves.

The men who had the hereditary function of Navitcu, ceremonial clown, were in costume during all the days of preparation. They went through all the houses of the village and the camps of the visitors, begging food for the workers: They never spoke, but gave high, squealing cries. Anyone who was sick might put [955] himself in the way of the clown and ask to be cured. The clown would then touch him on the head, both shoulders, breast, and back. When the clowns were not begging, they practiced dancing in the enclosure. It was also their duty to warn off any strangers or visitors from another village or any women who might venture near it.[5]

Also, during the ten days of preparation the corn-meal sprinklers were continually on duty. Each village had a sprinkler and a helper, whose offices were hereditary. One or the other stood at the door of the enclosure all of the time and sprinkled corn meal on anyone who entered. Every night, toward morning, the corn-meal sprinkler went to every house in the village to sprinkle the sleeping inhabitants. For this purpose he was costumed by his helper in the enclosure. He wore a kilt of homespun, undyed cotton (at present a white shirt) over the whole body and a woven cotton sash with long ends. To the belt, on his left side, was fastened a bell (formerly two spiral shells). His arms and legs were painted with white clay, on which spots were made by touching the wet clay with the finger. He wore sandals and had cocoon rattles around his ankles. His hair was tied up for running, bound with a cotton head band in which were two white eagle feathers at the back of the head, one upright, one slanting down.

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[5] The use of the Navitcu impersonation by the Pima (Russell, p. 266) gives the impression that they may once have had the wiikita though this impersonation is now used only for curing.

When he was ready, his helper sprinkled him with corn meal. 796x He did not sprinkle the people in the enclosure, since they were in a sacred place and "did not need it." The sprinkler ran to all the houses in the village, starting at the east, where the enclosure was always placed. The two villages of Palo Verde Standing and Archie exchanged corn-meal sprinklers, the man from Archie going to Palo Verde and vice versa. Otherwise each village had one sprinkler for its own people.

On the last night before the public ceremony, each sprinkler went to the village to the west of him instead of to his own. The corn-meal sprinklers, like other helpers at this ceremony, must always run. To stop, except for the sprinkling of meal, was dangerous. The calender stick records that one man dropped the bell which announced to the people that he was coming, but dared not stop to pick it up.

On the eighth day a few selected men from each village went 796x to Archie to construct the huge brush enclosure for the main 346 ceremony. It was placed to the east (one informant said north) of the Archie ceremonial house, leaving a large space between the two for the dancing. The enclosure was like that for each village, but was some hundred feet across.

The men first cut mesquite poles about fifteen feet high, and placed them in a circle with an opening to the east. Then they tied on transverse stringers of cactus rib, fastened with strips of yucca leaves. Over this was a thatching of corn husks. Inside the enclosure effigies from all the villages were kept and the singers had their headquarters.

Just outside the enclosure was the space which had been marked 796x off on the day of announcement as representing the "fields" of the different villages. While the enclosure was being built, the clowns cleared and swept these fields with a great deal of horse play. They pretended not to be able to find the right fields; they moved boundary stakes and fought over the possession of them. All this must be done well before the ceremony which, supposedly, would bring rain and make work in the fields impossible.

The time for the ceremony was now approaching, and in the work enclosures the leaders urged their men:

x 796 x [539]

> 2. Now approaches the day when we shall assemble. The people shall bring their fetishes. On foot they shall bring their fetishes. All people shall do the same way. Here, around us, they shall assemble and with us they shall go. All people shall assemble. It does not matter if some shall come in wagons. They must come in any case, and together we shall go.(13)

On the morning of the tenth day each village sent several loads of wood to Archie, to be used for cooking and warmth during the twenty-four hours when they would be kept there. Toward sunset all the people started; the men on foot or on horseback, the women in wagons with the provisions, the masks, and the effigies. As they neared Archie, each village stopped and sang two of its songs. Meanwhile, six women who were fast runners were sent ahead to bring wood to start the fires. The women from the various villages raced to get inside the enclosure. Their wood deposited, they ran around it four times to the right. This was almost the only part that women took in the ceremony. During its progress they merely cooked for their families and made constant trips to the hills for water for, Archie being a "field" village, the rain reservoir was dry in winter.

The clowns from each village were in full costume and walked ahead of the group. As they approached Archie, clowns from other villages ran up to them and tried to peep at their ceremonial effigies. The home clowns drove them off with toy bows and arrows. The singers took the paraphernalia into the enclosure, where each village had an appointed place, corresponding to its actual geographic location.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE PRAYER-STICK FESTIVAL AT ARCHIE

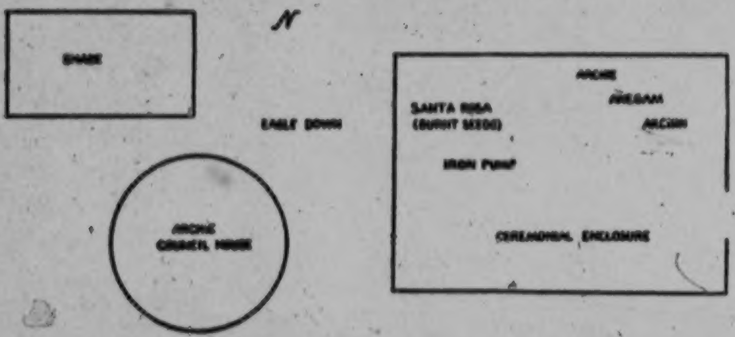
The spectators camped outside the enclosure, retaining their relative directions. The women cooked supper, after which all the men gathered in the enclosure, while the women stayed outside.

One clown held the hereditary position of speaker on the eve of the festival. His speech, as recited from memory by one of the audience, was as follows:

x [539]

> I have come here, my brothers, for this great day. Yonder, where I live, we are covered with earth, but when this day comes, we all come

796x
539x



forth. So I came here to tell you of this day of the prayer-stick festival.

Thus we ought to do every four years, and this you know. First we cut ten sticks and lay them down, so we will practice and work hard for those ten days. We do it for our land, and if we do not, everything will dry up. You know we make it rain, and the water falls, and we plant our corn. For that we have this great day.

When this day is over, I will go back to my home. There I will stay and listen for the great days. When a great day comes, you will come here and meet us. I, too, will come and will meet you, and we will work hard and will practice for ten days. For that I cut the ten sticks.

Other days we have that are good. We have the circling dance when we make liquor. We have the maiden's dance. These days we must always keep. We must keep to the old ways. The people must do right. They must do right always. Thus we shall have rain.(13)

After the speech all the men in the enclosure applauded by 796x shouting at the top of their lungs and imitating animal cries.[201] For the latter curious custom informants had no explanation, but it might seem to have some reference to the proclaiming of a guardian spirit. Each village, in turn, now gave a rehearsal of all its eight songs, eagerly listened to by the others. The order was: Archie, Iron Pump, Anegam, Akchin, Santa Rosa.

At dawn, the ceremony began. The scene was the space between the Archie ceremonial house and the new enclosure, with its "fields" before it. In this space, a little northwest of center, had been placed the tuft of turkey feathers around which the singers circled. But, not only must they pass this tuft, reminiscent of the founding of the village, but they must pause before the x796 Archie ceremonial house, under whose shade chosen boys and girls danced in position all day, doing honor to the local shrine.

These dancers may be described first, since they served as the focal point for all the processions. They represent the "flood children" described on pages 68–69 and thought to be eternally alive, underground, guarding the interests of their home region. For the impersonation there were chosen from each moiety a boy and a girl, distinguished for glossy long hair and holding their positions till youth was past. They are called *hákiwatam,* which may mean "parched-corn people," and they will be spoken of here as the corn dancers. The two boys painted the upper body black on the right side, brown on the left, with legs brown and face yellow, while the girls had both arms and legs brown and face yellow. The boys wore kilts and had a bow in the right hand and an arrow in the left, while the girls wore short dresses and carried an ear of corn in each hand.

The four "flood children" remained all day under the shelter outside the Archie ceremonial house, neither leaving their places nor tasting more than a sup of corn-meal gruel. At each side of them stood a corn-meal sprinkler, who functioned specially for them, and at their left sat an old man known as their helper, who rose and held the arms of the dancers when they grew tired. Behind them was their orchestra, with scraping sticks and basket drums. Their musicians had their hands whitened with chalk and their faces painted black above the nostrils and white below.

x796 533 Their songs had the same introduction as the songs for growth and a like content, but the final refrain, instead of *háhina,* is usually *ánastonga.* Neither is translatable, but the latter syllables seem to set a song apart for this special festival. As usual with all scraping-stick songs, the music was in two sections: a "weak" section, when the sticks were tapped upon the drums, and a "strong," when they were scraped along the notched sticks. During the weak section the dancers held their fetishes low and flexed their [533] knees; for the strong one, they raised the fetishes and stamped with the right foot. This performance continued quite without regard to the singing of the village processions. Though the latter paused before the corn dancers and sang their songs, apparently in honor of them, the corn musicians continued singing at the same time, a different tune and in different tempo. 796x 533

SONGS OF THE CORN MUSICIANS 796x 539x

3. *Hi hianai hu!*
The song starts and grows long.
Hitcia hdhina!
The ends of the song become rainbows;
The rain is raining.
Hitcia dnastónga!(8)

4. *Hi hianai hu!*
Are you asking something of me?
Did you come to show me something?(8)

5. *Hi hianai hu!*
Here on my field
Corn comes forth.
My child takes it and runs,
Happy.

Here on my field
Squash comes forth.
My wife takes it and runs,
Singing.(8)

The corn dancers were in their places at dawn, when the ceremony proper began. Its first act was the emergence from the enclosure of two masked men, whose hereditary office it was to represent the sun and the moon. Sun wore a mat of agave fiber, colored pink with a thin wash of red clay and rolled around his body from shoulders to knees, with holes for the arms. On his breast was painted a large circle divided into six segments, painted red, black, yellow, pink, white, and blue. Over his head was a mask of white buckskin, reaching to the shoulders and with small holes for the eyes. In his right hand he carried a war club, and in his left, a bow with a deer tail attached at each end. 796x

Moon also wore an agave mat wrapped around his body, but in this case the mat was pink with white spots, and instead of a mask, he had a large buckskin shield, mounted on a stick and held in front of his face. The shield was circular, divided into x796 segments painted like those of Sun and decorated at the edge with eagle feathers and eagle down. He carried the same weapons as Sun.

Sun emerged from the enclosure with Moon directly behind him and a corn-meal sprinkler at either side. A third man waited outside to asperge the luminaries as they passed. The procession paused outside the enclosure while Sun and Moon swayed slowly to and fro four times, in imitation of the movement of the heavenly bodies across the sky. Then it moved across the dance ground to the arbor of the corn dancers. It paused opposite this, and the corn-meal sprinklers to the right of Sun and Moon changed places with the one to the right of the corn dancers, while each sprinkled the companions of the other. The whole performance was repeated four times, and then Sun and Moon retired to the enclosure.

Inside the enclosure, the singers had been up long before dawn, for all must be painted by two old men who held this function through inheritance. All the exposed parts of the body were painted white, dotted with red to represent corn kernels. One man applied the white clay and one the red and, though informants knew nothing of moiety in this connection, it seems probable that as usual white was connected with Coyote and red with Buzzard. The corn-meal sprinklers had their faces painted with black specular iron, also applied by a special official.

The Archie singers always came first, exhibited all their effigies, and sang all their eight songs before the other villages took their turns. They formed their procession with a corn-meal sprinkler in the lead and a helper following him. Next came the small boy in a snout-like mask, and finally the costumed singers, bearing their effigy on a light platform made of cactus ribs. Many of their male fellow villagers followed them, uncostumed, to assist in the singing, and a corn-meal sprinkler brought up the rear.

The enclosure where they dressed faced east, away from the dance ground. Coming out of it, they circled the dance ground twice, counterclockwise, the corn-meal sprinklers walking with a long stride, while the singers used a prancing step very like that of Pueblo dancers. Each time they passed the shelter where the corn dancers were, they paused, while their corn-meal sprinklers threw corn meal on the dancers, and the sprinklers in the shelter reciprocated. On the second circuit they stopped just beyond the shelter, and their head corn-meal sprinkler threw meal on the ground where they were to stand to sing their song. 796x

The first few words of this song were always sung by the small boy who led them, then the singers took it up and sang to the final syllable, *ku-úh*. This is another untranslatable refrain, for though it has some likeness to *kuh* (the end), informants were unwilling to interpret it so. "It is the *wíikita word*." The singers always began the word in a bass voice, while the small boy took it up and ended in treble. A likeness to *kachina* cries is suggested.

The singers went through their song sixteen times and then returned to the enclosure, the corn-meal sprinkler at the rear turning back to throw meal on the place where they had stood. They rested in the enclosure, then took the next effigy and went out to sing the next sixteen times. When all of Archie's eight songs had been sung, Iron Pump had its turn; then the others in order. There are recorded here the eight songs sung by Santa Rosa at the festival of 1932, with a few scattered songs from former occasions.

SONGS FROM THE WÍIKITA *OF 1932*

796x
539x

6. Then toward the west I try to go;
A cloud I bring.
Then, when I have spoken to it,
It thunders.
Tcu huku!(13)

Cloud effigy, four or five feet high, white canvas over ocotillo stems.

7. There under the east
A rainhouse stands.
Many songs of ours round about are circling,
Lo, there above, a cloud emerges.
It lightens. It thunders.
Tcu huku!(13)

Effigy; a domed brush house eight feet in diameter, two long sticks thrust through the roof, topped with bunches of cotton to represent clouds, moved up and down in time with the song by a man walking under the effigy.

×796
×639

8. Over Archie fields
A cloud stands.
Over Archie fields
A cloud stands.
Below it, corn comes forth,
The stalks lean together and show
That well it is ripening.
Tcu huku!(13)

Cloud effigy, ten feet long, white canvas over curved ocotillo stems. Because of its size the clowns helped carry it, balancing the top against the cactus poles they carry. Singers used their "bull roarers" to imitate thunder.

9. Brown Mountain yonder stands.
Many clouds come forth,
With a good sound,
They are thundering.
Tcu huku!(13)

Mountain effigy, brown canvas, painted white on top to represent snow. On sticks above it, tufts of cotton to represent clouds, flying birds of wood.

10. Toward the north, a cloud
Does truly stand;
With a good sound it stands;
With a good sound it thunders,
And it stands.
Tcu huku!(13)

Cloud effigy, five feet high; birds (duck, crane, etc.) made of oilcloth on sticks above it.

11. On Long Red Mountain
An old buck runs;
On Long Red Mountain
An old buck runs.
Then I there stand and see
How he bears horns on his head,
How he is dancing.
Tcu huku!(13)

Effigy, two deer skins, stuffed with dry grass. When the song spoke of dancing, the singers raised and lowered the effigies; "they made the deer jump."

796x
539x

12. The outspread water [ocean]
Lies far away.
I try to look toward it, and I see
Many clouds arise.
In front of the sky they lie,
With a good sound it is thundering
Nearby.
Tcu huku!(13)

Effigy of clouds five feet tall, ocotillo covered with white canvas; birds of colored oilcloth on upright sticks above clouds.

13. Crane Mountain
Within the water stands.
Around it the water,
Like the pebbles of a rattle, is sounding
And thundering.
Tcu huku! (13)

Effigy of mountain made of ocotillo stems covered with buckskin painted blue.

SONGS FROM FORMER FESTIVALS [*]

14. White shell mountain
Covered with scum
Thither we ran to see.
In a circle it was turning:
Tcukuta tcukuh! (26)

This refers to a dream of the composer who saw a mountain rising from the sea and revolving.

15. Archie! Here over our fields
A cloud stands.
Beneath it, corn comes forth.
Near it, I stand and see
That well it ripens.(12)

Cloud effigy

16. Yonder a mountain came forth.
The corn came forth
And ripened well.
Thunder!(12)

Mountain effigy

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[*] Other songs from former Santa Rosa ceremonies are quoted in Mason, 1920. The music of some is transcribed in Stricklen.

x796 17. Over all the high mountains
x539 An old buck runs.
There I stand and watch,
Dizzily, here and there,
He leaps.(12)

Deer effigy

x796 During the whole performance the clowns circulated among 622 the spectators and dodged in and out through the processions. At the festival of 1932 there were thirty such clowns. They wore the usual dress, consisting of a white cotton sheet, belted at the waist, with a huge bunched headdress of turkey plumes. They ran about, begging for food by signs and squeaks, several relatives of each clown following him to carry the donations. A few clowns always acted as policemen to keep intruders off the dance ground. At noon the procession ceased, while the effigybearers ate, and then the clowns gave a performance. They constructed a little ceremonial house by piling up jars, pretended to dance, to make liquor, and to get drunk. They gave an imitation of planting, harvesting, and looking for rain. When not engaged in some other special performance, they danced about in front of the ceremonial enclosure.

x796 The clown is considered to have healing powers. In old days, 755 at the prayer-stick festival, sick people sat in a row and begged 622 him to come and cleanse them. On being given a handful of corn meal, he would put down his bow and make a clownish search for the white feathers which he kept hidden. With these he brushed away the sickness, or if he carried a cactus stick he might use that, breathing on the patient at the same time. Anyone who merely wanted safety and good fortune could ask for the same procedure.

x796 Many illnesses were thought to result from the breaking of 763 some taboo at the prayer-stick festival. Since the infringement might be slight, one was often not aware of what had happened till many years afterward. When the shaman finally diagnosed the case, either the clown must be called, or a miniature festival with singing must be held. One informant, when a young girl, tripped when she was carrying some paraphernalia in her carrying basket

for the men of the family, and she attributes her present rheumatism 796^{x}
to this accident. Her mother, at the time, urged her to be 753
cleansed by the clown, but she was afraid. The small boys with
the snouted masks may also cure illness by tapping the patient [755]
with their feathered wands.[7]

The five villages sometimes finished singing their eight songs 796^{x}
apiece in the forenoon. In that case they might go through them again in the afternoon, but usually the performance, with a long pause at midday, lasted until about three o'clock. Then the spectators went home. The feast leader for each village, with the help of the singers, gathered up all the paraphernalia, wands, and effigies and took them a little way out into the desert. There they were left to disintegrate. "No one would touch them; they are too dangerous." The prayer sticks previously made were distributed to all, or at least to the older men, who rubbed them down their bodies, praying, "Let evil fly away. Let me feel well—not sleepy; not lazy." They then placed the sticks in their storerooms or houses for luck. The temporary enclosure which housed the ceremony might be pulled down or allowed to stand, untouched, until it fell. For the next feast, four years later, everything was made new.

THE SUMMER CEREMONY,[8] QUITOVACA, SONORA

The feast at Quitovaca, in the Mexican half of Papagueria, was similar in general outline to the more impressive one at Archie. It took place at the full moon in August, and the villages joining were those in the southern part of the reservation and in Sonora, all "relatives" of Quitovaca.

Twelve days before the festival there was a cleansing ceremony, when a deer was killed and eaten.[9] Then messenger sticks were sent out, indicating that the festival would take place in twelve days. There was no such elaborate preparation as for the Archie ceremony. No songs were composed, and no effigies or prayer sticks made, but the Quitovaca people made their cactus cider at

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[7] This and other aspects of the festival have such obvious likenesses to Pueblo procedure that a detailed comparison is in preparation.

[8] This ceremony has been briefly described by Davis.

[9] See p. 113.

6

x 796 this time from the *pitahaya,* which ripens later than the giant cactus. The liquor was set to ferment the day before the ceremony, and it was the *wiikita* itself which assisted the fermentation.

The people arrived in the afternoon of the eleventh day. At this time, instead of a universal singing of songs and a speech by the clown there was a ceremony called "shooting the food." Each householder made, in front of his dwelling, four piles of sand, and in the center he placed a pile of food which was to be blessed to give health during the year. The supernaturals who blessed the food were the ceremonial clowns, one of whom was called *kúatcu'k* (the finisher).

When the writer saw the ceremony, in 1931, the clowns were led in by a man carrying a long pole and dressed in ordinary clothes. With the butt of this pole he indicated the sand pile toward the east, and the first clown ran up to it. He wore the usual mask of white deerskin, with a tuft of turkey plumes. The rest of his trappings were superposed on ordinary blue shirt and overalls. These trappings were: a girdle of fringed deerskin, the fringes about 1½ feet long, ending in white sea shells, with four large cow bells interspersed; deerskin fringes, about 6 inches long at the wrist; six cloth streamers, four red and two blue, hanging from a neck band; a little sack of corn meal at his waist. His duty was to sprinkle corn meal on the sand piles. The guide with the long pole indicated the piles in the order east, north, west, and south. The clown then trotted up to each pile and sprinkled it with corn meal, uttering the word *ku-úh* in a high squeaky voice. This was to kill the sickness.

A second clown followed, also masked, but wearing his ordinary clothes. He carried a bow and arrow, with which he shot at the offering of food. This was "in imitation of the man who [241] first produced corn by shooting cholla with a bow and arrow." After the shooting, the food became the property of anyone who could snatch it first. This is somewhat different from the practice of Archie clowns, who beg for food and then keep it for themselves. The whole village followed the clowns, who went at a dog trot to important houses, performing the same ceremony.

At sunset all the people went to the dance ground. This was

At sunset all the people went to the dance ground. This was arranged on the same plan as at Archie, except that instead of 796x one new ceremonial enclosure, there were two, one to house the 184 more northern villages joining in the feast, one for the southern ones. The division was geographical and had nothing to do with moiety. The enclosures were of the same roofless type used at Archie and stood in the same position, with their openings facing away from the dance ground, so that the singers might dress unseen and emerge in full panoply.

To the northeast of the center stood the tuft of turkey feathers, and to the west, not the ceremonial house, since this happened to stand in the crowded village, but a shelter where the sacred basket could be displayed. This honoring of the local fetish is an essential part of the ceremony. At Archie, it will be remembered, four children danced to represent the patrons of the shrine. At Quitovaca the sacred basket is brought from its place in the hills and guarded for twenty hours by a woman. This basket supposedly contains the heart of a monster killed by I'itoi. The heart was in two portions, male and female, but "the male was stolen, and only the female is left." Therefore a female guardian is necessary. She must be past childbearing age and was chosen by the elders [287] of the village, if possible from the same family as her predecessor. Like the child dancers at Archie, this woman must not leave the shelter during her hours of service and must eat nothing but a sup of corn-meal gruel three times a day.

A little before sunset Sacramenta, the woman guardian of the 796x bundle, went to the council house to receive it. The bundle is normally kept, not at the big house, but in a cave in the hills, since the Quitovacans say they fear its desecration by Mexicans. It is fetched on the day before the feast by a party of men, and taken back on the day after. The keeper of the smoke placed the basket on Sacramenta's head, and as she proceeded to the feast ground a man walked in front of her with a lighted firebrand. She placed the bundle on its rack and sat down in front of it. She was to retain the same upright position, with feet stretched out in front of her, for twenty-four hours. In the same shelter, just as at Archie, were the four scraping-stick musicians. These were to be subject to the same rules, except that they sat cross-legged in order to use the basket drum.

*796 Sacramenta's arrival at the shelter was timed to coincide with the exact moment of sunset. At the same moment two groups of six men each approached the shelters behind which the performers dressed. Each group carried a canvas sheet on which were piled the masks and costumes to be used in the ceremony. These are kept during the year in the council house at Quitovaca.

The six men who were to act as corn-meal sprinklers for the twenty-four hours, now entered the enclosure and assumed their ceremonial costume of blanket and headdress. The blanket, in this case, was a gaudy flowered one, bought from the whites. It was folded around the body under the left arm, the two ends knotted together on the right shoulder. A cord held it in place around the waist. The head was covered with a red bandanna, over which was a headband of red plush with an inset mirror. The plush may be a substitute for the colored headbands worn by the Pimas; the mirror was a substitute for abalone. In the headband four eagle tail feathers were stuck upright.

The man assuming this costume knelt behind a sheet, which was held by two assistants. This was for mystery, not propriety, since the costume was put on over ordinary clothes. Next came two dancers, one representing the northern group of villages around Quitovaca, one the southern. Each entered the costuming enclosure which stood at his own point of the compass and was costumed as the corn-meal sprinklers had been. Their clothing was identical with that worn by the *kúatcu'k,* leading clown of the afternoon: white deerskin mask, red and blue streamers from the shoulder, fringed girdle and wristlets. Besides these, the singer assumed anklets, fringed like the wristlets and hung with cocoons filled with fine sand.

When the men were costumed, the scraping-stick musicians began a song, and a small procession emerged from each enclosure. First came the head corn-meal sprinkler, scattering corn meal in a clam shell from a deerskin bag at his waist. Next came the two volunteers, in their white masks, then the two assistant corn-meal sprinklers. Each procession headed diagonally across the feast ground, so that their routes crossed somewhere near the center. They walked past the bundle shelter and returned, each man

tepping carefully in the tracks of the one ahead of him. As they 796x
entered the enclosure again, all three corn-meal sprinklers scattered corn meal.

In old days singing and dancing would now have begun and [177]
would have lasted all night. Instead, the men took off their costumes, and all but the corn-meal sprinklers went away. The corn-meal sprinklers guarded the enclosures all night and were expected to fast as did the guardians of the bundle. These guardians told the writer next day that they had actually fasted, but they did not remain with the basket. They wandered about informally, though there was a group of men smoking within sight of Sacramenta all night.

At sunrise the scraping-stick musicians struck up a dawn song.

18. The sun is rising! [639]x
The sun is rising!
Over us the white houses [clouds] stand.(20)

A procession identical with the one of the previous night emerged from each enclosure, except that now each procession had a banner, carried by a volunteer and representing, on the north, Sun; on the south, Moon. The banners were white cotton [formerly deerskin], about two feet square, stretched between two sticks which the bearer carried above his head. Sun was represented by a red disk, Moon by a blue square. They crossed the dance ground as before and returned.

After this the procedure was similar to that at Archie. The scraping-stick musicians sang songs in their shelter, while a series of processions came from the enclosures, singing entirely different songs. Only one song of the scraping-stick musicians was recorded: a thanksgiving for first fruits.

19. He [Elder Brother] will give us a fine big child of the corn [ear] [639]x
We will eat it just as we like.
He will give us a fine big child of the squash.
We will eat it just as we like.(20)

Meanwhile, from the two enclosures processions emerged alternately and continued to do so all day. The singers were volunx 796 teers, as at Archie, but there were only two, with no effigies, and the songs had not been composed for the occasion. All the men who thought of volunteering stood grouped around their respective enclosures for most of the day. Two of them from the same village would decide on a song they knew, would step forward and be costumed as above. Beside the costume described, each was given two wands about four feet long, with a tuft of eagle tail feathers at each end and in the middle.

Extreme sacredness attached to these feathers. They were kept by an old man appointed as their guardian, who finally showed them to the writer. In spite of great feebleness, he was obliged, himself, to get down the sack in which they hung from the rafters, because none of his family dared touch them for fear of headache. His wife touched them inadvertently and declared later in the day that she was suffering intense pain. When properly used at the prayer-stick festival, however, the wands confer a blessing.

The costumed men took a wand in each hand. Then they stood in the enclosure facing each other and went through their dance and song. The dancing consisted of stamping with the right foot and waving the tufted wands in unison. The exact motion to be used in waving was decided by themselves. It might be horizontal, vertical, or in and out, like dumbbells. They never twirled the wands or made any elaborate gestures.

x 796 Meantime they sang in unnaturally high voices, the words being
533 quite unintelligible through the masks. The songs were those
x 539 sung at their home rainmaking festivals. Most were rain songs of very simple pattern.

20. Beneath Black Mountain
Evening falls;
Here above us
Is a black cloud.(25)

Others celebrated certain localities.

21. Yonder stands Foam Mountain, Elder Brother,
With foam on its head, Elder Brother;
Distant it stands, Elder Brother,
With foam on its head, Elder Brother.(20)

796x

When the song had been gone through once in the enclosure, the procession marched in single file into the open. The head corn-meal sprinkler went first, then the singers dog-trotting, then the two assistant corn-meal sprinklers. A procession from the northern enclosure always headed southwest, one from the southern enclosure northwest. They stopped at a point selected by the head corn-meal sprinkler, different every time but near the down tuft and the sacred basket.

A definite ritual was gone through. The head corn-meal sprinkler put his foot down. Then he sprinkled corn meal on that spot with a sweeping gesture like that used in sowing seed, except that the gesture must be toward the body, not away from it. He then moved back, and the first singer, who had been directly behind him, stepped onto the spot. The head corn-meal sprinkler moved about three feet away and repeated the sprinkling. The first singer then jumped from the spot where he was to this new place, and the second singer jumped into the first position. Then they changed places, still jumping, as though their feet, having once touched corn meal, must not take any intermediate steps on the earth.

As finally placed, the two men stood facing each other, about three feet apart, one facing north and the other south, so that neither of them had his back to the west, where the bundle shelter was. The three corn-meal sprinklers stood grouped around them for the purpose, informants said, of seeing that they did not step off the corn meal when dancing, blinded by their masks. They went through their song twice. Then the head corn-meal sprinkler led the way back, the others following in his footsteps, in the order in which they had come. The last corn-meal sprinkler scattered meal "to erase their steps."

Back in the enclosure, they went through their song once more before removing the costumes, making four repetitions in all, two in the enclosure and two outside. While the last repetition by one group was still going on, a procession from the other enclosure had already started across the plaza. This continuous performance required a great many volunteers, and many men had to sing a number of times.

x796 The series of processions, with their two singers and four songs, was varied four times during the day. At dawn the procession came without singing, carrying out the banners of Sun and Moon. In the afternoon, similarly, they "brought out the clouds," a square banner with the conventional cloud representation. If rain had not put a stop to the proceedings, a tall pole was to have been brought out tipped with feathers to draw down rain and ultimately a bowl of food to bring plenty.

x796 522 Toward the middle of the afternoon, when the cloud procession was in full swing, two clowns appeared. They wore no special costume but the white deerskin mask described for the other performers, and each carried a bow and arrow. They dog-trotted up to the bundle shelter and addressed the keeper of the smoke.

"We are Nánavitcu (plural for Navitcu), we are going hunting."
The keeper replied:
"Go on. There's good country over there."
"We are going to kill you some rats."
"That's good."

They dog-trotted about the plaza and went through a performance of looking for tracks, hiding behind bushes, and shooting the rats, all the time talking to each other in squeaky voices. The spectators enjoyed it immensely. Then they imitated drinking from a spring, trying to duck each other and give each other a bath. Informants said that the clown performance differs every year, according to what the men think up. There are sometimes more than two clowns, but news had gone around that this ceremony would be very poor because only two could be found.

x796 262 The feast ground was surrounded during the whole day with families who camped there, bringing their food. The volunteer performers were not subject to dietetic restrictions like the scraping-stick musicians and the corn-meal sprinklers. They might eat anything they pleased if it did not contain salt. The tradition is that the women of Quitovaca should bring large quantities of saltless food to the feast ground so that the visitors might eat. If anyone choked or bit on a piece of grit while eating, he must go to the scraping-stick musicians and let them sing over him to cure him.

During the ceremony cactus liquor was being fermented in the 796*
council house, since at Quitovaca the rainmaking ceremony has 273
coalesced with the prayer-stick festival. The process was under the [184]
charge of an appointed liquormaker, but there was much less ceremony than in the north. A tuft of eagle down was placed over the door of the council house and another on the ground outside. The latter was attached to a stick two feet high painted with a red spiral. No explanation of the decoration could be given. "It was from the beginning."

The scraping-stick musicians acted as tasters. Samples were brought to them in their shelter, and they consumed a jugful at each test, sharing it with the woman guardian of the basket. The writer, invited to sit with them, was offered her share and had a chance to hear them joke each other about the fast they were enduring.

"Well, liquor's good enough, but now bring some corn-meal mush." "Where's the coffee?" "My legs are stiff, I haven't been out for three hours."

The men did get up occasionally and walk about, but the woman guardian sat absolutely still for the whole twenty-four hours.

This happened to be a specially fortunate festival for the liquor fermented before the day was half over. "Because of that," clouds gathered early, and by mid-afternoon there was such a torrential downpour that the performance had to be left unfinished. When it broke up, the woman guardian took the basket on her head and, escorted as before, carried it back to the council house. After the drinking it was returned to its cave in the hills. From the council house a man not in costume went around the village inviting the men. "Come friend. Get well drunk." Drinking lasted until dawn, when the liquor was exhausted.

Both the prayer-stick festivals are still being given. For a time, 796*
the winter festival was dropped but it was revived in 1932 and 177
the Archie people plan to continue it permanently. The summer festival has been held continuously but it is much abbreviated. It has coalesced with the cleansing ceremony and the rainmaking to form the one yearly performance at Quitovaca.

[p. 162 is blank]

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PART THREE

CEREMONIES FOR INDIVIDUAL POWER

[p. 163]

[p. 164 is blank]

8

WARFARE

721 537 PAPAGO war ritual[1] never mentions the glory of war. Bravery and prowess are recognized unofficially, and the informal speeches even make much of them, but in the official orations war is conceived of as an onerous duty. The descriptions are not of battles but of the visions which precede and follow them. Actual fighting is expressed by metaphor or disposed of in one hurried sentence. Emphasis is all on the obligation to the community, the steps taken to work the fighters up to action, and the final reward. This last is neither prestige, booty, nor satisfied vengeance, but that *sine qua non* of a desert people—rain.

701 721 This is the attitude of busy agriculturists who fought, as the Papagos say they did fight, only in self-defense. They were often attacked by the raiding Apache around them, and all their men had to be trained for war. In fact, there was no escape from mili-

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[184] [1] The warpath ceremonial was highly developed among the Pima (Russell, pp. 352–84), and its speeches have been preserved while other ceremonies were lost. Pima rituals do not correspond with those of the Papago speech for speech, but the same material is used by both groups in different combinations. One important difference is that the Papago divide this material into speeches for the warpath and others for the subsequent purification. Russ[illegible] (pp. 264–5) describes an arduous purification, but all the speeches he gives are [illegible]gned to the warpath and to definite stages in its progress. The Papago use some of this same speech material for salt gathering and for building a ceremonial house.

Granting these differences, the northern Papago, from whom the speeches were taken, show more likeness to the Pima than to Papago of other divisions, where the speeches were sought in vain. The likeness would have been greater had not the Pima speeches been translated as prose and the Papago as poetry. The writer, however, is willing to defend her use of the free verse form. The speeches, as recited, have a definite rhythm, entirely different from that of ordinary talking. It is easy to recognize the end of a line by the heavy stress on the last word and these lines have been adhered to in the translation. As noted in the introduction, their length cannot be exactly that of the original, but the proportion of long and short is similar.

[p. 165]

701

[838] In fact, there was no escape from mili-
tary duties except by assuming the status of a berdache, but they
721 made no pretense of considering these duties as other than a dis-
agreeable necessity. In their view the enemy, with unfamiliar gar-
ments and weapons and formidable courage, were evil magicians,
and they were to be treated as such: avoided until they became
too obnoxious, then killed with as much dispatch as possible.

727 It was because of their belief in the enemy's evil magic that the
Papago took no booty. Nothing belonging to the enemy might
be touched except by one who had been through the special puri-
fication to be described. Male captives were never brought home,
and the females occasionally taken were sold to the Mexicans,
[766] not kept. Papago dead were left on the battlefield or burned there,
though the usual custom is burying. Papago wounded must be
purified. The only trophy brought home was the scalp or occa-
sionally a belt or moccasin to take its place. In this trophy was
thought to be concentrated the magic power of the enemy. The
reward of the fighter for his labors was to possess this power and
make it serve him.

796 War ritual can be divided into three stages, which logically
726 should not all come under the same heading. The first two, which
here have been called the rituals of the warpath and of victory,
were really communal ceremonies. They were conducted by the
whole community, or at least by all the warriors, and they had the
regular form of a community ceremony: the oration by the priestly
leader and songs by the group. Moreover, in the Papago mind,
which abhorred emphasis on killing and revenge, their real result
was supposed to be a magical one, bringing rain and crops.

The warpath and victory ceremonies are then actually food ceremonies. To this extent has the main interest of Papago life shaped and turned all its elements. The only ceremony for power is the third of the war rituals, warrior's purification, which conforms perfectly to the other purification formulae. Since to separate the three phases of war would make the narrative difficult to follow, all three have been described here as a continuity.

721 The first, which has been called the warpath, comprises all the
preparations for war, up to the time of fighting. It must be de-

scribed in the past, since it is now several generations since the 721
Papago went to war.

THE WARPATH

Papago men lived with their bows and arrows beside them, in readiness for an Apache attack. If they could catch the enemy before he escaped with his booty, they rushed out without ceremony. But more often enemy raids occurred while a village was sleeping and the Apache were far away in the hills before their victims were aware. In this case a punitive expedition was organized.

The village which had suffered the raid called a meeting, at which volunteers were accepted and plans made. A date was set for the expedition, generally ten days later, and a bundle of tally sticks was sent by messenger to neighboring villages who might wish to join the party. From the time of sending out the sticks, [734] the war leader must remain sexually continent, though others need not. Every night during the days of preparation the men met to report on equipment and receive instructions. The keeper of the smoke generally addressed them informally, but the speech of any keeper became standardized. The following one was reported at San Xavier.

1. You are to see the enemy people who live between the moun- 721
tains. You will see their bravery. Such bravery you will see, that no- 539x
where have you seen its like. That is what you will see.

You will take power, that you may do the same. This is our purpose. Thus our purpose is fixed: thither to lead our young men and to kill the enemy. We will think nothing of death; we will break loose; we will kill the enemy.

Great fame shall his kinsmen give to each of our young men: His name shall his mother hear and his father, because he has killed. She will rush out; she will go to him happily, his mother. She will rush out; she will give the warwhoop; she will dance; she will call him by the kin term—him, her son. "Very brave are your deeds, my son! Therewith the world shall resound, full of the excellence of my son's deeds. Therewith shall rejoice his kinsmen."

721 Evening then will fall, and they will sing for him. Daylight will
x539 come and there will come forth the old woman. She will give the warwhoop; she will dance. Thus will do the old man: he will come forth; he will shout loudly, he will dance hard.

This is our purpose. Therefore, we shall lead forth our young men, that deeds they may do which are of the bravest; that deeds they may do with which the earth shall resound. This is our purpose.

Therefore do not begrudge your young men, whom we lead thither. Although it is dangerous, let them care not if they die there. For thus will resound their fame; the people will hear it and will call them by the kin term. If they are kin, they will give the prayer for one who fared unfortunately. This is our purpose.

If your son shall die, excellent will be the fame of his death, because somewhere unknown to you between the mountains he died. In some place unknown to you shall lie his bones. The flying birds their down feathers shall let fall—all kinds of birds, and therewith better shall lie his bones. Therewith thus shall desire the old man [his father] he shall [desire to] go thither and again to fight the enemy. He shall kill another enemy and shall cancel the debt. Therewith will he make all well and will be exceedingly happy. He will not remember his son's death. Therewith, out of sight, will he put his wretchedness, his unhappiness.(21)

721 After the informal urging of men to do their duty, came the
537 ritual oration to produce power. This was a description of I'itoi's resurrection and his preparation for a victorious campaign. It was taken from the original myth and described the first Papago and Pima war ceremonies; just as the songs sung on the warpath were the songs of I'itoi's army.

Only two men were found who knew this speech. Both had learned it hurriedly from the last old warrior before he died, and though their versions agreed, the whole effect was that of a garbled patchwork. It begins in the appropriate style of dignified repetition and follows the origin myth of I'itoi's revival. Then there is an abrupt change. Instead of the underground people, I'itoi visits a bird shaman. The narrative continues with typical Papago realism while the hero asks for the Papago virtues, including expertness in kickball. Then suddenly the Apache are brought on the scene, and with one violent sentence the ritual is cut short.

721
539x

SPEECH BEFORE A RAID

(Komarik, Santa Rosa) [2]

2. There, then, they killed Elder Brother, the shaman.
Far off, alone he fell,
And there continued lying.
Four years did pass.
He raised himself, awoke, and looked around him.
He saw and knew the earth far different seemed.
The mountains he had placed erect
Now crumbling stood.
The trees which he had placed erect
Were dead and fallen.

This having seen,
His white winds toward the east he caused to blow;
Therewith his heart
He moistened and healed.
His red winds toward the north he caused to blow;
Therewith his heart
He moistened and healed.
His black winds toward the west he caused to blow;
Therewith his heart
He moistened and healed.
His painful winds toward the sea he caused to blow;
Therewith his heart
He moistened and healed.

I'itoi speaks.

Then I came forth and stamped.
Wherever lived an eloquent man,
I did approach and stamp upon him;
And again I stamped.
Wherever lived a man with shaman's knowledge,
I did approach and stamp upon him;
And again I stamped.
Wherever lived an enemy slayer,
I did approach and stamp upon him;
And again I stamped.

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[2] A Pima version of this speech, apparently not used for war, is given by Russell, p. 339.

721 Wherever lived wise women,
x539 Food gatherers, food preservers,
There did I surely stamp.

Then I sank down and toward the east
Beneath the ground went burrowing.
At the base of the Rich Mountains
Was water dripping, thick with scum.
I came there, and my heart I moistened.
Then I sank down and toward the east
Beneath the ground went burrowing.
I reached Great Feather House,[3] and there within
Lay many things; and I my heart was healing.

There was the place where I kneel down:
Covered with windiness,
Covered with birds [unidentified],
Covered with swallows,
Covered with pendant clouds.
Then, there did I kneel down.

There was the place where I put my hand:
Covered with windiness,
Covered with birds,
Covered with swallows,
Covered with pendant clouds.
Then, there did I put my hand.

I turned, and toward the west I went,
And there did reach
The shaman of the downy nest [bush tit?].
I approached and circled; I approached and sat;
And talked with him together.
His fine floor covering did I soil
As I sat down;
I ate and swallowed my tears.
Tears dropped on my reed cigarette
The while I smoked.

Around him stood his handsome youths and his fair maidens.
The virtues which they had he did not grudge me.

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[3] The cave where I'itoi left the basket of eagle feathers after slaying the monster eagle.

721
539x

Not to mind hunger,
Not to mind thirst,
To kick straight at kickball—
All of these virtues lying there
He did not grudge me.
I made them into a narrow bundle;
I seized them and went forth.

Toward the south were beautiful beads
And beside them beautiful earrings.
I touched them with my hand,
And I moistened my heart and healed it.

Toward the north was a road,
And there a great blackened stick [war club]
Painted with flowers.
Feathers were tied upon it.
Bird down was tied upon it.
In that direction [direction of the Apache]
Did they feel hostile toward me.
Then thither did I go,
Uprooting!
Breaking!
Throwing down!
Trampling!

Thus should you also think and desire,
All you my kinsmen.(7)

When "the sticks were all knocked down," that is, when ten days had passed, parties from the several villages met at the foot of the Santa Rita Mountains, "for the top of the mountains belong to the Apache, the base to the Papago." This, as a rule, was their only night of ceremonies. Next day they would be in enemy country and would travel by night and sleep by day. 726

The official crier of one village was generally among the warriors, and he called all together for the warpath ritual.

3. Now the night has reached this point [late]. Now we will do as is our custom. Now, at this point, deep night covers us, and thus we will do. In very old time began this custom, that wherever people live, they should gather together. Now this is our purpose; to teach our young men and to recite the ritual.(9) [539]x

726 The men gathered in a circle, with the fire in the center. At the side of the circle, where they could be facing the enemy, sat the war leaders, with the senior at the left. Next to them sat the crier, and behind him a lance was placed upright in the ground. The man who recited the ritual held this lance as he spoke and then replaced it. When the men were seated, the crier called for the shamans of the party. These were a particular group, the owl-shamans, who could communicate with the dead. It was their function to speak to the spirits of Papago warriors killed in the enemy country and learn of the enemy movements. The crier named each shaman present, calling him by the kinship term. They came and took their seats inside the circle, in front of the leaders and facing the enemy.

726 537 One or more ritual speeches were then made,[4] the speaker being any man who had learned the formula, perhaps during his period of war purification. Some speakers advanced to the center of the circle and grasped the spear.(12) Others sat with arms folded and head bowed. "You should not talk loud for a war speech. It is solemn." The speech was delivered in monotonous tones, with a strong emphasis on the last word of the sentence or phrase.

Two such speeches were recorded. One, from Santa Rosa, is a realistic description of a war party. The emphasis, however, is entirely on the preparations, the actual fight being disposed of in a single sentence. The speaker uses a warpath language analogous to the language used on the salt pilgrimage, in which important nouns are indicated by circumlocutions.[5]

726 539

SPEECH AT FIELD RENDEZVOUS[6]

STICKS LAID DOWN

4. Thus did I do.
The sticks, which I have broken,
I knocked them all down.
One after another.

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[4] The same custom holds among the Maricopa, who may have adopted it from the Pima. The speaker must be one who has dreamed of the mocking bird. The speeches are in the first person, with "abrupt, staccato delivery" (resembling Papago salt speeches) Spier, p. 167.

[5] For the Pima version of this speech see Russell, p. 369.

[6] For a Pima war speech somewhat similar to this one see Russell, pp. 369–74.

726
539x

My kinsmen from elsewhere hither hastened
And stayed with me.
My poor fruit did they eat
And stayed with me;
My water did they drink
And stayed with me.

Then did I take my burning brand
And yonder go carrying it.
Just there on a little stretch of sand
I placed it,
Desiring a night of ceremonies.
Then I sat down and sat there.
Then soon they came to me, my young men;
With them I held the ceremonies.
Soon it was morning.

Then did I take my burning brand
And yonder go carrying it.
Just there, on the ground,
I placed it.
Then soon from all directions they came to me,
My young men.
With them did I kill
The big-eared ones [hares]
And the winged flyers [game birds].
There in a moving thing [river bed] did we camp,
Desiring a night of ceremonies.
Around us there was yellow [fat];
A[illegible] us there were ashes.
We ate our kill half cooked
Longing for dawn.

Then did I take my burning brand
And yonder go carrying it.
Just there I placed it;
There indeed I placed it.
Then soon they came to me,
My young men;
They snatched the remains of food
And westward ran.

726 Just at the doors of some shelters there, they turned,
539 And stopped at last when they reached a little rock.
They snatched the remains of food
And northward ran
Across a ditch full of catclaw.
Then turned and ran
Across flood channels full of catclaw,
Where the thorns clutched them.
There they did not turn,
But on a little place where soapweed grew
And small stones were embedded
Met and stopped.
Straight as an arrow did I speed to meet them.

The little wild things, hard to kill [deer]
Were all around.
Then I went on.
Not a few big heads [black tailed deer] did my people kill.
And the white runners [white tailed deer] did my followers kill
In countless numbers.
In a place of reeds did we then camp
And held a night of ceremonies.
Around us there was yellow [fat];
Around us there were ashes;
There did I bring my former kill.
Half cooked, we swallowed it.
Soon it was dawn.

Then did I take my burning brand
And yonder go carrying it.
There on a camping place
I set it.
Then soon they came to me, my young men,
And on a little spot of ground
They stood around me.
Then I went on.
Not a few big heads did my people kill,
And the white runners did my followers kill
In countless numbers.
Under a little hackberry tree
Did we then camp

726
539x

And hold a night of ceremonies.
There did I bring my former kill;
Half cooked, we swallowed it.

Then did I single out a youth
And to Sleeping Eagle Mountain send him,
There to lie.
Toward Sleeping Eagle Mountain to draw close
And lie and watch.
Then did I single out a youth
And to Water Source Mountain send him,
There to lie.
Toward the water to approach,
And there to watch.

From Sleeping Eagle Mountain came the youth,
And said:
"Something running [game] which they have killed
I have found lying there," he said.
"Very well.
Keep lying there, keep looking, keep finding out.
Thus we shall know their doings."
Thus I said.
"And do not make a fire to warm yourself,"
[Which the enemy would see].

From Water Source came [the youth]
And said:
"Something running which they have killed
I have found lying there," he said,
"Very well,
Keep lying there, keep looking, keep finding out.
Thus we shall know their doings."
Thus I said;
"And do not make a fire to warm yourself."

[Again the first youth came]
Then thus I said:
"What news?"

"The outspread earth lies silent;
The seated rocks sit silent;

726
539

The standing trees stand silent;
The running beasts run silent."

[Again the second youth came.]
Then, thus I said:
"What news?"

"The outspread earth lies silent;
The seated rocks sit silent;
The standing trees stand silent;
The running beasts run silent."

Then, thus I said:
"Come now! Make ready, my young men."
"Then I stood.
And I said something [term for ceremonial speech]
There was a trail lying in the middle [of the plateau]
There did I send some of my doughty youths.
They followed on and made four halts and saw
In a wet place there had been food gathering.
There were fresh tracks.
"They were carrying a load on their backs,
And twice they halted.
Ah! Here they were carrying it," he said.

"Good!
They have returned with their women
And with their children."
Thus, I said.

There did I send one of my doughty youths.
Four halts he made, and sometime in the night
Stole up to us, stepping lightly.
Quietly he met us and told me:
"The enemy in the open are camped.
No rocks lie around them;
No trees stand around them."
Thus he said.

Then did one of my young men
Make himself like a gray snake
And behind a rock he crawled on his hands and knees.
Then, lo! one of my young men

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

Made himself like a murderous wildcat
And along a ditch he crawled on his hands and knees. 726 539x

The dawn approached;
Then, leaping, in we went.

A lone enemy came forth;
Surprised, he looked about.
He broke a tree, and down he went rolling.
Then he who kills with his mouth [rattlesnake; a Papago warrior]
Took him, and down he went dragging him.
A lone enemy came forth;
Surprised, he looked about;
He slipped on the grass, and down he went rolling.
Then he who kills with his claws [hawk; a Papago warrior]
Took him, and down he went dragging him.

The sun stood at the rising point.
Then did we not continue to wrestle with them;
We destroyed them.(7)

The other speech recorded is from the south of the reservation. 726 Here realism has entirely disappeared, and the words are a passionate and poetic call for men to do their duty. 537 Again the preparations for war are stressed, but their end is a magic experience obtaining undying seed for all the community. The last phrase of this speech is the standard finale for all war speeches, speaking eloquently of the difficulty of moving a peaceful people to war: "Thus should you also think and desire, All you my kinsmen."

5. Thus far have we come, 726
All you my kinsmen, 539x
And have chosen for our resting place this land
Where sunset falls.
Here the standing dead trees have we broken,
And, having made fire,
We have placed our young men about it,
To tell of past happenings.
Here the dry grass have we pulled,
And, having spread it,
We have seated our youths upon it
To tell them something [ceremonial].

726 What I say to you now
*539 Is the same that I told you yonder
Among the houses.
To the old men I said it.
To the old women I said it.
To the children I said it.
To the young women I said it.

Is my food so much to me
That I should put it to my mouth
And all day sit idle?
Is my drink so much to me
That I should take the sweet water poured out
And all day sit idle?
Is my wife so much to me
That I should gaze upon her?
And all day sit idle?
Is the child I have begotten so much to me
That I should hold it in my arms
And all day sit idle?

It was uncontrollable, my desire.
It was the dizziness [of war].
I ground it to powder,
And therewith I painted my face.
It was the madness [of war];
I tore it to shreds
And therewith tied my hair in a war knot.

Firm did I grasp
My well-covering shield
And my hard-striking club.
Firm did I grasp
My well-strung bow
And my smooth, straight-flying arrow.
To me did I draw
My far-striding sandals.
And fast I tied them.

Over the flat land did I then go striding.
Over the embedded stones did I go stumbling.
Under the trees in the gullies did I go stooping.

Against the standing trees did I go hurtling. 726
Through the mountain ravines did I go brushing quickly. 539*

After four halts did I reach
The shining white eagle, my guardian,
And I asked power.
Then kindly to me he felt, and he took forth
His shining crystal.
Our enemy mountains it made white as with moonlight
And drew them close,
And all across them I went striding.

Then, after four halts, did I reach
The very blue hawk, my guardian.
And I asked power.
Then kindly to me he felt, and he drew forth
His bright blue stone.
Therewith our enemy waters it made white as with moonlight,
And all around them I went striding.

There did I pull up and seize and tie together
All kinds of his fine seeds, fine clouds, fine winds;
Then did emerge
Thick stalks, thick tassels,
And the undying seed
Did ripen.

This did I do on your behalf,
My relatives.
Thus you should also think and desire,
All you my kinsmen.(9)

WAR SPEECH AT FIELD COUNCIL

Komarik

6. The stub of my cigarette I light in the embers. I put it to my lips; I breathe out. Then light will illumine my way. I will draw toward me my young men. I will give them bows, bow strings, and war arrows; round shields and thick clubs. I shall touch them all [in blessing]. I think and desire, all you my kinsmen, that you shall have a good life.(19)

After the speech the warriors applauded by "passing the kinship term," each man in the circle, beginning at the right of the speaker, calling out the term of his own relationship. 726 576

726 speaker, calling out the term of his own relationship. After this, in some villages, there was sung the series of songs to drive away evil, lest any man's weapons had been subject to the influence of a menstruating woman and lest some shaman of the enemy was
726 working spells against them. Then came the war songs. These
533 were originally the songs sung by Elder Brother in his campaign to drive the first inhabitants from the land, but many other songs, dreamed by warriors, have been accepted.

Two cycles are here quoted, from two different informants. The first was the son of an enemy slayer, who claimed that his series was the orthodox one.

726
x539

WARPATH SONGS OF INFORMANT 9[7]

7. Evening falls.
There I stand,
Looking at my enemy.

Morning rises.
There I stand,
Looking at my enemy.

8. The flat land is folding up;
I see it near.
The flat land is folding up;
The mountains are folding up;
I see them near.
The mountains are folding up.

Sung by I'itoi. The next morning the earth seemed to fold itself up and brought the enemy nearer.

9. There sits a crow
And sees my enemy.
There stands a crow
And sees my enemy.

10. Here I stand and look.
What is the mountain
Far off, blue?

Here I stand and look.
It is Crow Mountain
Far off, with a cloud on it.

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[7] For somewhat similar Pima songs see Russell, pp. 286–89.

11. Where is the shaman who will help me?
For I know nothing!

726
539x

12. Crow! Little shaman!
He lights up the flat land.
Crow! Little shaman!
He lights up the mountains.

13. The land was covered with macaws.
The land was covered with macaws.
I came there.
I came there,
And saw my enemy
In the likeness of a macaw.

The mountains were covered with macaws.
The mountains were covered with macaws.

I came there.
I came there
And saw my enemy
In the likeness of a macaw.

14. Gray owl shaman
Comes with me.
Yonder he finds my enemy
And makes him helpless.

Blue humming bird shaman
Comes with me.
Yonder he finds my enemy
And makes him helpless.

I'itoi sang the following to mislead any spy in the company, so they would think he was Wahu shaman or Eagledown shaman.

15. Am I not Wahu shaman?
Smoke from the sleeping plant
I blow over my enemy.

Am I not Eagle Down shaman?
Smoke from the poison weed
I blow over my enemy.

726
x539

16. Very angry,
To the flat land he came,
My enemy,
Exceeding angry.

Very angry,
To the mountains he ran,
My enemy,
Exceeding angry.

17. The wind keeps running with me,
With it I run far yonder.
My enemy dizzily staggers forward.

The clouds keep running with me;
With them I run far yonder.
My enemy drunkenly staggers sidewise.

18. Coyote, comrade,
Run to meet the enemy!
Tomorrow, fight!

The second informant did not come from a family of enemy slayers, but had learned the songs from others. Though his songs are similar to the first, they are evidence of the variations which must have existed.

WARPATH SONGS OF INFORMANT 19

Sung at beginning of I'itoi's campaign before the three parties separated.

19. I shall become a shaman;
I shall become a shaman;
I see the distant flat land.
I shall become a shaman;
I shall become a shaman;
I see the distant mountains.

20. The sun stands there.
I see a mountain
Far off, with a cloud on it.
In all directions there is singing.

726
539x

The sun stands there.
I see Crow Mountain
Far off, with a cloud on it.
In all directions there is singing.

21. Wahu Shaman!
Here I come forth;
With the wind I come forth
And come hither.
This, my cigarette smoke,
I blow against the enemy.

Eagle Down Shaman!
Here I come forth;
With the clouds I come forth
And come hither.
This, my cigarette smoke,
I blow against the enemy.

22. Where is there a shaman to help me?
The flat land is foggy.
Where is there a shaman to help me?
The mountains are foggy.

Song to bring mist and fog to bewilder the enemy.

23. Invisible I run;
The flat land is foggy.
Invisible I run;
The mountains are foggy.

24. I make the bitter wind to blow
That thereby my enemy,
Staggering forward, shall grow drunk.

I make the bitter wind to blow
That thereby my enemy,
Staggering forward, shall grow dizzy.

25. Gray humming bird shaman,
Coming along with us,
Find my enemy and put him to sleep.
Gray owl shaman,
Coming along with us,
Find my enemy and give him nightmare.

726
x539

26. Gopher shaman,
Gnaw the bow
Of this, my enemy.

Hoot owl shaman,
Cut the arrow feathers
Of this, my enemy.

The Papago speaks

27. My crooked club
At the west came forth.

The Apache speaks

There even the enemy maidens,
Seeing it, laughed at me.

The Papago speaks

My flat shield
At the east came forth.

The Apache speaks

There even the enemy children,
Seeing it, laughed at me.

28. Coyote, our comrade,
Went to meet the distant enemy.
Overcome at the sight of their numbers,
He staggered every which way.

Buzzard, our comrade,
Ran to the nearby enemy.
Overcome at sight of their numbers,
He staggered every which way.
But when the sun stood yonder
Upon the flat land,
Drunken [with battle]
[Men] were staggering everywhere.

But when the sun stood yonder
Between the mountains,
Dizzy [with battle]
[Men] were staggering everywhere.

29. Coyote, our comrade, 726
Runs to meet the enemy. 539x
Tomorrow, fight!

The final song was usually the appeal to Coyote. During this 726
song, at Komarik, one warrior danced in the trail leading to the 533
enemy's country. At the final words all gave the warwhoop, pounded their bows on the ground, or struck their shields(19).

Meantime, the shamans had been looking for the enemy by the 726
aid of their crystals or by conversations with passing owls. Some 787
were able to blow smoke toward the enemy, causing blindness or 789
a mist which would hide the Papago movements. At the end of the singing they announced where and when the Apache would be met. The men then lay back to sleep, but before doing so they rubbed their hands with a downward stroke over their eyes and breathed in the direction of the enemy to cause him to sleep.(19)

After entering enemy country there was no further ritual. 726
"They only sang if they were in trouble and could not find the enemy," otherwise they traveled by night and slept by day.

The usual engagement took the form of an early morning raid, when they rushed upon an Apache village, killed a man or two, or perhaps only women and children, and made their escape. No fight could last long, for each of the few men, as soon as he had killed an enemy, must leave the conflict and await purification. This long and complicated procedure will be taken up separately.

VICTORY

The war party arranged its homeward journey so as to camp 727
on the last night near the village and make an entry at dawn. They collected the Apache trophies (which might be scalps, ears, or merely a war shirt, moccasin, or belt), tied them to a long pole, and sent them ahead by a messenger. As soon as he was within reach of the village, the messenger shouted the names of the enemy slayers, that preparation might be made for their segregation. After this he called the names of any Papago who had been killed.

The young girls of the village immediately set out to meet the war party. They seized each man's weapons and danced with them, 727 singing, and the man could not retrieve his property until he had paid the singer. Near the village the old women met the party. According to some informants there was one who had the hereditary right to take the trophy pole and dance with it(26). Others say that the old women fought for the privilege(9). The one who took the pole danced with it ahead of the party, singing a scalp song.

x [539]

1. Here I stand;
I sing for the scalp.
Come and see, O women!

Here the ends of my shaman's plumes
Give light.(26)

The last two lines refer to some dream of the dancer.

The party, with all the village, proceeded to the ceremonial house, where they gave a long recital of their exploits. The pole was set up on the dance ground. Then a meeting was held and arrangements were made for the victory dance, which would take place when the sixteen days of the warrior's purification were over. All related villages were invited, and if there were several trophies, a pole with some of these attached was sent as a token.

The game leader proposed a race challenge to neighboring villages, and the people discussed sending for men or women known to be expert at the *kápetua,* or dramatic war dance,[*] performed on the night of the celebration. The dancers were often brought from a great distance, and the villages joined in providing them. Relatives of the enemy slayers were expected to pay the largest amount(9). Each village which had joined the war party held its own victory dance, providing some of its men were enemy slayers. If not, its members visited the dance of a neighboring village.

727
635 The trophies were left on the pole for the ensuing sixteen days. No one was allowed to touch them, but "no one wanted to. They were too dangerous." These sixteen days were the period of the warriors' purification and, while they lasted, the villagers danced nightly around the pole. They moved in a circle, counterclock-

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[*] Russell speaks of a Pima "dramatic war dance" in the middle of the circle of dancing people (Russell, p. 205).

wise, with hands clasped and fingers interlacing, as for the rain 727
dance(19). Some describe them as leaping forward, all together, 635
and then leaping back. The name of this circle dance was *kúihin* (leaping).[9]

The song cycle for this dance, more nearly intact than most of 727
the others recorded, referred to the incident in I'itoi's campaign 533
when Buzzard was captured and forced to dance around his own scalp.[10] The songs refer to Buzzard and his plight, but they also describe realistically the dance ground and the tiny incidents such as the crying of the babies and I'itoi's directions for nursing them, a novel interpolation in a war ceremony.

Some of the songs were in such archaic language that the singer [198]
himself had no idea of their meaning. He insisted that it was not a foreign tongue, merely the language of the "old people." The standard refrain *tángwi* [11] is one of these untranslatable words. So is *limhu,* mentioned by Miss Densmore as the name for all these songs.[12] The introduction is always "He, he!" uttered at the top of the singer's lungs.

SCALP SONGS(9)

727
539A

2. He, he!
In a circle join and sing;
Here we sing.
Jump and sing! Jump and sing!
Look up here!
Look up here!
Look up here!

3. He, he!
Great doings!
We have not killed your husband,
He is not staggering;
Tángwi!

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[9] Russell (pp. 205–6) speaks of the Pima as celebrating victory by running and riding horses in concentric circles moving in opposite directions.

[10] See p. 12.

[11] It will be noticed that *tángwi* does not occur at the end of every song as the informant at first said it should. This may be due to forgetfulness on the singer's part, since he had not heard the songs since his childhood. The songs were put down as he sang them and may furnish some indication of how changes occur.

[12] Densmore, p. 184.

727
x539

Sort of staggering,
Over there staggering;
Tángwi!

4. He, he!
Great doings with the scalp;
Great doings with the scalp:
The little prisoner!
Hang it up, hang it up, hang it up!

5. He, he!
Very slowly
We follow one another,
Jostling at the corners.
Hana! hana!
Jostling at the corners.

6. Holding hands in a row we go,
Backward jumping,
Backward jumping.
[archaic words——]
Holding hands in a row we go.

7. He, he!
[We] pull out your pin feathers.
[We] cut your throat all around.
Tángwi!

Sung by Buzzard when he danced around his own scalp.

8. He, he!
Poor thing!
All pity me.
Tángwi!
All sing,
Poor thing.
Tángwi!
Limhu, limhu, limhu!

The old men are sorry for Buzzard.

9. He, he!
The old men are crying.
Tángwi!

I'itoi tells the mothers to calm their crying babies.

10. He, he!
The children are crying,
The children are crying.
Here sit down.

727
639x

I'itoi gives directions for nursing the babies.

11. He, he!
I put my nipple in your mouth;
I put my nipple in your mouth
And pat you soothingly.
I put my nipple in your mouth
And pat you soothingly.

12. He, he!
From the gourd we will drink.
Tángwi!

13. There sits a crow [the scalp].
What are you doing?
What is it?

14. A cactus plant
Had a flower.
The little thing died;
The little thing died,
Making a small noise.
Tángwi!

15. The crow was sleepy
And toppled down here.
The cro-ow!

The dance ground has become trampled.

16. He, he!
[Line untranslatable]
In a swamp we sing.

Closing song.

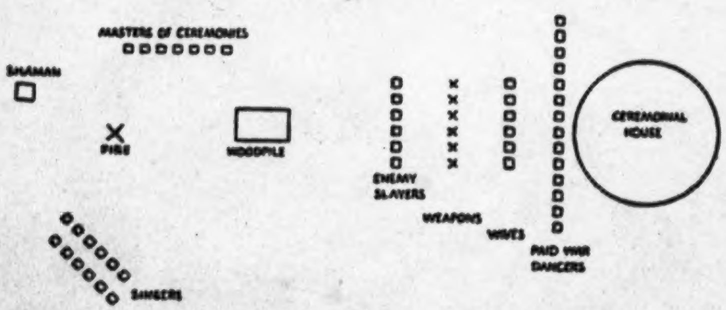
17. He, he!
Sleepy,
Sleepy.
Tángwi!

727 The dance around the pole took place every night, just after sunset. Meanwhile preparations were going on for the victory celebration, to be held on the sixteenth night. Women relatives of the enemy slayers brought enormous piles of wood, to be used for the fire and cooked quantities of food to be offered to visitors. Men relatives caught the horses, which they intended to give as presents to the dancers.

At sunset the people assembled for the last scalp dance, and when this was over the enemy slayers were brought to their position on the dance ground. They were seated east of the fire, behind them their wives, and farther back, the war dancers. There were one or more masters of ceremony, who were, according to one informant, the guardians of the enemy slayers. Ten former enemy slayers acted as singers and sat south of the dance ground. They used no instrument: "They did so once, and an enemy slayer died the next year."

ARRANGEMENT AT THE VICTORY DANCE (KOMARIK)

727 535 To their singing was performed the dramatic war dance, *kásspetua,* whose purpose was to purify the weapons of the warriors. The warriors themselves, being still ritually unclean, could have no part in it, but they and their families paid the dancers. These were active young men and women who had been sent for because of their skill or had volunteered from the audience. It was a favorite pastime of the youth of both sexes to practice and hold themselves in readiness for this dance. With a man leading and several other men and women behind him, they gave a vivid imi-



tation of battle, jumping forward and backward and brandishing 727
shields and clubs belonging to the warriors. Any member of the 535
audience might join them. When no dancers had been engaged, members of the audience, even women, volunteered to lead the dance. They were rewarded by the relatives of the enemy slayers, who put into their hands at the end of the dance a bit of manure [201]
indicating whether they were to receive a horse or a cow. In poor years the compensation might be only a basket.

The songs sung for the war dance are said to have been sung by Elder Brother on his campaign or when he had killed the [533]
monster eagle. Others might be dreamed and presented new on the occasion. Each song was sung four times. The dancers walked during the first two repetitions and leaped during the second two.

WAR DANCE SONGS

18. At the foot of the east I got drunk; 727
At the foot of the east I got drunk, 539^{x}
My younger brothers!
The white wind met me.
It will drive me mad.(27)

19. Yonder a man runs shouting, saying:
"Seclude [my family]," saying,
The enemy slayer is saying,
"Here long since has my shield been painted."(27)

20. Enemy slayer,
Your wife is running toward you.
Her hair is cut [in mourning];
Every morning she weeps.(27)

21. Prisoner children [the scalps],
I have adopted you.
Here all about me
Are standing eagle feathers.(27)

When someone is coming, a bear it is said, always holds his paw out straight, then rubs his body.

22. The little black bear!
'Tis on the edge of Crow Mountain he sits;
Toward the sun he is stretching out his paw.
"With that my heart I rub."(27)

An Apache speaks.

727
^539
23. Gila fields lie stretched out yonder.
Eager to see them,
Softly I crept thither,
This my feather headdress shaking.

A Papago speaks, of the Apache.

24. Plumed Mountain stands afar;
Toward it I crept;
A feather headdress
Was shaking.(26)

25. Kill the Apache; kill the Apache!
Dry the skin; dry the skin!
Soften it; soften it!
I am happy with it
A-a a-ah!
But there are still Apaches left.(9) [13]

727 The last song is used also for the dance around the pole.

After the war dance came the ceremony of purification, described below. Next morning the visitors might perform the visiting dance, or they might contest with the home village at racing or kickball. Sometimes the festivities lasted several days and large [525] amounts of property changed hands during the betting.

WARRIOR'S PURIFICATION [14]

726 783 The taking of a scalp or a trophy was the ritual act which brought a man into contact with the supernatural. The mere shooting of an enemy, without touching him, did not have this effect, and a man who was willing to fight, but shunned the ordeal of purification, might hand over his privileges and duties as an enemy slayer to a comrade. The leader sometimes instructed his men before starting: "If you wish to become an enemy slayer, you will take a scalp; but if not, do not touch the Apache scalps

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[13] A similar Pima song is quoted by Russell, p. 335. Other victory songs on pp. 337–38.

[171] [14] Russell (pp. 204–5) describes a very strenuous purification among the Pima, but gives no speeches for it. In his account the warrior and his guardian wander about for sixteen days instead of sitting and waiting for a vision.

or Apache property." Because power was so highly valued, there are recorded few men who refused the opportunity. 726 783

The word "scalp" has been used for convenience, but more often it was merely a lock of hair quickly wrenched off. Four hairs, two from each temple, were said to be sufficient, and the twists of hair the writer saw were a foot long and of finger thickness. The warrior who had taken such a trophy became instantly at the mercy of supernatural power. If he continued to fight, he would have no strength and would probably be killed; so he retired from the skirmish and painted his face black, the color it would wear during purification.

727 783 The leader kept track of his men, and when he saw that several had retired from the conflict, he called a retreat. The enemy slayers, from the moment of their act, became taboo to their comrades and must stay together at a distance from the others, their blackened faces giving the warning. An old man of the party, who had himself been an enemy slayer, was appointed to take charge of them. This man was addressed by the title "*nyi ókta*" (the one who is made my father). He called his charge "my younger sister's son."

Every act which this ceremonial godfather performed for his charges was surrounded with ritual, which he must have learned by heart during his own purification. The speeches he made usually described some supernatural experience attributed to the younger warrior. The latter was now expected to have visions in which he would undergo such experiences, and the recitals he heard must have served many an unimaginative young man as a pattern.

The guardian first tied up the men's hair, since they themselves were not allowed to touch their heads.

ENEMY SLAYER SPEECHES 727 783 539x

ON TYING THE ENEMY SLAYER'S HAIR

1. Am not I, even I, your guardian?
And I tell you Something.

It seems that at the east there lives a great yellow buzzard,
A great shaman.

727 Surely he is your guardian, and, arriving from there,
783 He reveals Something to you.
x539

But now you were acknowledged [an enemy slayer].
You made your request to him and wept.
Then he picked you up, and far he threw you.
You fell half dead; you awoke; you came to yourself.

To the west then did you turn and look.
There hang powerful birds
In all directions, their great wings flapping.
Between those wings you rushed out on the right-hand side.
Toward the ocean hang powerful birds,
In all directions their great wings flapping.
Between those wings you rushed out on the right-hand side.
Toward the east hang powerful birds,
In all directions their great wings flapping,
Between those wings you rushed out on the right-hand side.
Toward the north hang powerful birds,
In all directions their great wings flapping.
Between those wings you rushed out on the right-hand side.

It was a twisting wind.
With it I knotted your hair at the back of your neck,
Twisting it as the wind twists.
With the remainder I tied it, handling you roughly.

Verily who desires this [experience?]
Do not you desire it?
Then must you endure many hardships.(7)

Next the guardian thrust into each man's hair a scratching stick, which in some villages was used for the whole of the ensuing sixteen days. In some, it was renewed at the end of every four days.

ON PLACING SCRATCHING STICK IN THE ENEMY SLAYER'S HAIR

2. Verily am not I your guardian?
And I tell you Something.

To the west you turned and saw
Great wingless birds.
Surely they are your guardians;
Thence they come and reveal to you Something.

Their sharp feathers they pulled out;
They bent them into an arch, and toward the east they threw them. 727
Then came great darkness, glorious dizziness, and glorious drunkenness. 539x 783
Therewith gloriously I knot your hair at the back of your neck,
And a sharp stick now I thrust into it.(7)

The guardian and his charges then started home, keeping some 727 distance behind the war party, so as not to contaminate them. In 783 the speech made on starting the guardian referred to the war party as beasts and birds, since they had these creatures as guardian spirits. His account of their camping is a symbolic mention of the four rainhouses in the four directions, since a successful war party brought rain. The mention of butterflies and the whirlwind has the same implication. Finally he mentioned the tree under which the warrior would sit during his period of segregation.

ON STARTING HOME WITH THE ENEMY SLAYERS

3. Ready! 727
Already they have gone, the great flying birds 783
And the beasts that run upon the earth. 539x
They have returned upon their trail.

They camped first upon a white rock;
Then they camped upon a red rock;
Then they camped upon a black rock;
Then they camped upon a yellow rock;
Then, halting four times, they looked about them.
All kinds of butterflies and birds they saw beside the trail.

As they were going,
From above a whirlwind followed them, madly twisting.
It was the thing which they desired to see.
For this they came.

There is a tree standing alone,
Casting a cool shadow.
Under it you will seat yourself.
Your child must not come near and look upon you;
Your wife must not come near and look upon you.

727 Verily who desires this?
X 793 Do not you desire it?
[539] Then must you endure many hardships.(7)

A herald had already shouted the names of the enemy slayers as the party approached the village. Each man had chosen a guardian who would instruct him for the coming sixteen days and whose wife would take charge of the wife of the enemy slayer. As soon as the names were heard, the women guardians went to the homes of their young charges and escorted them to some point away from the house, where they built a shelter of boughs.

The enemy slayer was met outside the town by his selected guardian and led to a place at some distance from the village. Sometimes a little shelter of boughs was erected, or he might merely sit under a tree. In some villages he changed his location every four days, advancing gradually nearer to the village. The guardian, on establishing him in the shelter, addressed him.

ON ESTABLISHING THE ENEMY SLAYER IN HIS SHELTER

727 4. You did rush forth.
793 Four times you halted, yonder; lo, you saw
x 539 Two branches arched together.
Before them hung an unpainted shield, circling in the wind.
Within hung a loud-striking club,
Whose sound echoed within you.
Two nights you passed there, and then you came forth;
Four times you halted, and yonder, lo, you saw
Three branches arched together.
Before them hung an unpainted shield, circling in the wind.
Within hung a loud-striking club,
Whose sound echoed within you.

Three nights you passed there, and then you came forth.
Four times you halted, and yonder, lo, you saw
Before you stood a green-leaved tree.
Four times you halted, and yonder, lo, you saw
Above you stood the talking tree.
Under it stood a reed cigarette, burning by itself.
You put it to your lips
And upon the west-sloping land you breathed out.

There stood a low-hanging white-leaved tree. 727
Four times you stopped, and yonder, lo, you saw 783
A solitary tree stand, dripping shadow. 539x
Under it you will seat yourself.
No child shall come near and look upon you;
No woman shall come near and look upon you.
Thus must it be with you.

Verily, who desires this experience?
Do not you desire it?
Then must you endure its many hardships.(7)

There began for the enemy slayer a period more rigorous than 727
any on the warpath. He was expected to sleep very little and not 783
to talk except to his guardian. The latter visited him at morning and at evening, bringing a little pinole, which he mixed and handed to him. If the slayer wished to show real fortitude, he would let the mixture settle, drink the thin solution on top and throw the rest away. He drank water only when the guardian presented it to him.

ON PRESENTING THE ENEMY SLAYER WITH A CUP OF WATER[15] 727

5. Within my bowl there lies 783
Dazzling dizziness, 539x
Bubbling drunkenness.

There are great whirlwinds inverted above us:
A great hawk heart,
A great bear heart,
A great twisting wind.
All these have gathered here
And lie within my bowl.

Now you will drink it.(7)

The cup which the enemy slayer used was made new for him 727
by the wife of his guardian. In some parts of the reservation it 783
was thrown away at the end of four days, and a new one was provided, the slayer thus sloughing off some of his impurities. On the same principle, he bathed every four days, washed the black

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[15] Though Russell gives no speeches for purification, his first song on p. 325 repeats the material of this speech.

727 783 off his face, and then renewed it. The bath must be in cold water, which is always a ritual requirement. It was the duty of the guardian's wife to make water jars both for the slayer and the slayer's wife. These were never used again, but were discarded in the desert, sometimes with a hole through the bottom for ceremonial "killing." There was a ritual recitation used at the bathing, which has been lost.

The time for raids was usually in winter, so that the enemy slayer sometimes had a small fire in his shelter. The guardian brought him wood and lighted it, since the slayer himself must not kindle fire. The guardian said in leaving: "Here is firewood. If you are cold, help yourself." But he carefully noted how the embers lay, and when he returned, if he saw the fire had been stoked, he concluded his man lacked bravery.

The guardian often spent half the night with his charge, teaching him the war rituals and telling of his own visions. The recitations thus learned could be used to cure those who had been made ill by the scalps, as could any song dreamed by the warrior at this time. Two songs dreamed by the father of one informant are quoted. The dreamer had clubbed an old Apache woman to death.

x [539]

6. I knew not what to do;
I knew not what to do;
I knew not what to do.
Then I knew.

Something I knew, I knew.
Clearly I knew.
I killed an old Apache woman;
She was crying.
From all directions light is shining.(26)

Though the warrior at this time was isolated from his family, the power which had touched him was thought to extend to them also. All expected to share to some extent in the good fortune which would accrue to him once his fetish was tamed, and all were menaced until he had it under control. Theoretically, the people so affected were all his kin, through his father, his mother, and his wife. Practically, there was a geographic distinction. Those 727 who lived in the village with him and shared his economic interests 783 bathed whenever he did, though they did not fast or segregate themselves. Anyone who might be visiting for the occasion did the same, but those at a distance felt "the power would not reach so far." For the children, the bath need not even be cold, for the Papago were very lenient in their ceremonial requirements for [855] "those not old enough to understand." However, all must observe a quiet demeanor, talk in low tones, and go out of the house as little as possible.

The one exception to these rules was the warrior's wife. Whether she were in the village or not, her tie with her husband was considered so close that she needed the same purification as he did. Her ordeal, however, was merely for cleansing, not for power, and the extremest rigors were spared her. She was segregated in her hut; she fasted from meat, grease, and salt; she did not look at the sun or make her own fire, but she need not thirst, starve, or suffer cold. Also, she did not receive instruction, nor was she expected to dream. Her husband's dreams furnished the power for all.

The weapons, having touched the enemy, shared the warrior's contamination and were kept beside him during the whole of his seclusion, to be purified when he himself was purified. His scalp or trophy, which had hung on the pole, was removed by his guardian, or some other enemy slayer who dared to touch it, and specially prepared for use as a fetish. It might merely be decorated with beads, or it might be made into the effigy of an Apache, dressed in buckskin, with feather headdress. A woman skilled in making the old-time plaited baskets prepared one of the proper size to receive it. On the day before the victory dance, according to some(9), a man had been sent to the dance ground to note the exact place where the rays of the rising sun struck. In this spot, next morning, the trophy would be placed. On this day the enemy slayer neither ate nor drank, so that there would be no physical cause for him to leave the dance ground the following night.

This was the night of the victory dance, called *würita* (the tying up), referring to the tying of the scalp basket. That evening,

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when the dance around the pole was over, the enemy slayers and their wives were escorted to a place at the east of the fire and at some distance from it, since fire was one of their taboos. Depressions were made in the ground for them to sit in, and these were lined with skins. Two stakes were placed behind them as a backrest, since they were expected to sit upright all night without moving.

When they were seated, the war dancers helped themselves to the enemy slayers' weapons and purified them by the dramatic war dance described in the preceding chapter. Some time after midnight came the warriors' own purification.

Two shamans were sometimes called to lead the ceremony, and each sang one song four times.

SHAMAN SONG BEFORE PURIFICATION

x[539]

7. A little red snake
Lies at the edge of the flat land.
Around the war club it is coiled.

A little black snake
Lies at the edge of the mountains.
Around the shield it is coiled.(9)

After this, each of the old enemy slayers sang two songs, each one four times. These songs, called *kúmmuta* (smoking over), were dreamed by enemy slayers during their period of purification. They were not songs from I'itoi's campaign: "Those were too powerful." As a consequence, the songs are not in series and may refer to anything dreamed by the composer. They should, nevertheless, be in pairs, each pair sung through four times. Informants who had forgotten one of a pair sometimes substituted any other song, even if not a war song, so that the form of repetition would be correct.

WARRIOR'S PURIFICATION SONGS, FIRST SERIES(9)

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x539

8. The eagle shield
Lies yonder far;
A green rainbow
Beside it lies.

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A soft rumbling like thunder
Shakes the mountains.

The hawk club
Lies yonder near;
A rosy rainbow
Beside it lies.
A soft rumbling like lightning
Shakes the flat land.

9. A little red puma
Was sitting still.
He laid hold on the darkness,
And toward the west he laid it down,
The zigzag lightning.

10. The sun is rising;
Beside it lies a bow.
On either side, a puma cub,
Light red.

11. What field is that
Where I hear talking?
Great darkness is coming from there.
Nearby it met me,
And here and there it tossed me.

WARRIOR'S PURIFICATION, SECOND SERIES(19)

12. Toward the north a man is shouting.
Toward the north a man is shouting.
The nearby fields and the mountains
Reverberate.

The corpse of an Apache speaks.

13. From above, over me,
Birds are descending.
Over me birds are fluttering.

14. Under a reddish rainbow
I am sitting.
Under a greenish rainbow
I am standing.

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^039

15. My cigarette smoke
Covers Tecolote fields.
For, toward them my enemy is coming,
Spreading light.

16. The light of my cigarette,
The light of my cigarette
Covers Komatk Mountain.
Toward it I hasten;
Morning is appearing.

The returning warrior pictures his home.

17. At the bottom of the field of little ponds
The ground is very smooth;
At the bottom, there, it is shining.

18. Coyote, our comrade,
Yonder stood, far away.
A shield beside him he saw;
It seemed good.
He kept looking at it.[16]

19. Little Coyote
Came here.
He made my heart a dizziness.
Little scalp men
Were touching me all over.

20. Little Coyote
Stood yonder, nearby,
He yelped.
It was good to hear.

21. Coyote, my comrade,
Came here.
Here, around me circling,
Four times he yelped.
The darkness shuddered.

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[16] Russell (p. 336), quotes a "tie" song or *woluta* (Papago, *wurita*) similar to Nos. 18-21, above. It may be a relic of a lost *wúrita* ceremony.

Modern song, dreamed during Apache wars, referring to the bow of a dead warrior. 727 783 539x

22. Distant Arrow Feather Mountain
Lies stretched out,
In shape like the vanes of an arrow.
Upon it lies a bow
Broken in pieces.

The iron bow [a gun] thunders;
The iron bow thunders.
Within Catalina Mountain
It thunders.

Since the means for the conveyance of power was contact with the enemy, men wounded by him must purify and dream just like the enemy slayers. Even a wounded woman was eligible, and a very popular set of songs was composed by a woman shot by an Apache prowler. She was secluded and purified like an enemy slayer, with the wife of a slayer as guardian, and afterward she took her place at purifications with the men singers. 727 783

SONGS BY A WOUNDED WOMAN(19)

At sunset, when camping, she hears Apaches signaling. 727 783 539x

23. "I sit on dizzy ground
Behind Reed Mountain.
The sun is setting;
In sorrow it is setting."

The Apache speaks.

24. I was circling around
Circling around [the village of] Field Pond.
With my bow I was circling around.

The woman sings this as she faints.

25. Nawoka Mountain
Stands alone;
Under it my heart feels, indeed,
Like that of a woman.
My heart is leaving me.

The wounded woman sings in delirium.

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x539

26. A black bear came;
He touched me all over.
Above me he wrung out the morning
[Like a cloth].

She refers to her dress, which two Apaches stole and took away as a trophy down behind Baboquivari.

27. Behind the distant range of Baboquiviri,
Where flowers grow,
They took me.

28. The women gossip about me
They gossip about me.
They do not know that this, my heart,
Within me is dizzy,
[As though] full of water.

727 783 [924] When two singers had sung two songs each, they were given by the master of ceremonies two roots to chew, according to the moieties to which the enemy slayers belonged. For the Coyote moiety they chewed "scented grass" (unidentified); for the Buzzard moiety, *Houttynia californica*. Their breath scented with the herb, they blew smoke over the enemy slayers. Then they called them by the kinship term, and each wished for the new "ripe man" the same luck in war, hunting, or gambling that he himself had had.

TO WARRIOR AT VICTORY DANCE(19)

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x539

29. [Kin term].
Hail friend! You will be like me. Thus you will do.
You will never fear darkness or thirst or cold or hunger when you encounter them.

One speech was recorded as spoken by the guardian at this time as the last of his series of speeches.

ON SMOKING OVER THE ENEMY SLAYERS AFTER THE VICTORY DANCE[17]

30. Thus did I wreak ill on my enemy by many devices,
Did cause him, as he fought, to become like a ghost and to fall asleep:

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[17] Compare the Pima speech, Russell, pp. 363-65.

727 This readmission of the purified warrior into the fellowship of
783 kin lasted until almost dawn. Then the Apache effigy was brought and held up by the guardian or the shaman to catch the rays of the rising sun, in order to catch an enemy soul to animate the effigy. All Apache souls, alive and dead, are in the sun, and all are seeking an abode. The dead souls fly low; the live ones, high. The shaman recognized them as they came and moved the effigy up and down so as to avoid the dead ones and entrap a live one This done, he tied up the basket (9).[18]

[184] A long speech was recorded as being made at this time, the
727 northern Papago attributing it to the guardian; the southern, to
783 the shaman. It has the same effect of patching noted in one of the
537 warpath speeches and seems to represent fragments of at least three compositions. The sonorous beginning from the origin myth may once have continued to an account of the first purification. As recited, it launches suddenly into a description of the Apache. Then comes a portion whose repetitions have the style of some standard ritual and which seems to refer to the dreams of a warrior undergoing purification. This also breaks off and gives way to a vivid and colloquial account of tracking the enemy. In typical Papago fashion the actual killing is pushed into one brutal last sentence.

SPEECH OF SHAMAN OVER TROPHY

783 31. Who was it who did thus?
727 He spread the earth and finished it.
x539 I'itoi, the shaman, did thus:
He spread the earth and finished it.
Upon it stones he set and finished.
Upon it trees he erected and finished.
Upon it mountains he erected and finished.
Springs of water he poured out and finished.

---

[18] This information came from a war shaman who had himself performed the ritual. He was confused about the detail of catching enemy souls and changed his statements about live and dead souls several times before deciding on the correct version. It seems possible to the writer that the soul catching may be a recent interpretation and that the parallel of this ceremony might be looked for in Mexican rituals where captive enemies were sacrificed to the sun.

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639x

I'itoi speaks.

Upon it I sent forth my people
That they might look and go about,
Thus did I:

I moved them yonder, to the foot of the west.
Then rose a bitter wind, thence coming.
The trees uprooting, it threw about.
The rocks it threw about.
Therewith it killed my people.

In that direction going,
There, at the foot of the south,
I established them.
The earth was all laid bare.
Nowhere a tree stood.
Nowhere a mountain stood.

The Apache speaks.

Then, on it I came forth.
In white moccasins
I came forth.
With my face crookedly painted
I came forth.
With a headband under my forehead
I came forth.
With my hair tied in a war knot
I came forth.
With bloody wristguard
I came forth.
With all kinds of winds
I came forth.
With all kinds of clouds
I came forth.

The warrior under purification speaks.

It was well with the land.
I looked upon it and across it thus did go.
Upon my narrow field (the place of purification)
I reached my guardian.
Thus did he say:

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"My nephew,
Now I come close to you.
The people fear you.
Not near will they approach.
They will not look."
'Twas thus he said.
"Not this the land,"
He told me.
"Not here the road,"
He told me.

Here follows a symbolic description of Apache country.

Then, I, seeing,
Across [the land] thus did go.
Beneath a high two-pointed mountain
Water lies.
There sounds the chirping
Of all kinds of birds
And of scalps [in fetish baskets].
There a cold wind blows.
In that land, quickly arriving,
I reached my guardian.
Thus he said:

"My nephew,
Now I come close to you.
The people fear you.
Not near will they approach.
They will not look."
'Twas thus he said.
"Not this the land,"
He told me.
"Not here the road,"
He told me.

Then I, seeing,
Across [the land] thus did go.
Yonder three poles
Stood interlocked.
Within, a fine tree stood.
From it a fine male hawk

Hung downward. 727
From the end of his tail 783
Blood was dripping. 539x
That I liked to see.

The last lines describe an Apache tipi, with dead Apache or an omen of one.

Far yonder, beside the rising sun,
A house stood—
Red, with a domed roof;
There young women sat,
With headdresses of macaw feathers,
With headdresses of hawk feathers.
That I much liked to see.

From above, toward me,
A path was made.
On it I set my foot.
Up to the sky I came.
Many things happened there.
In there are many skins rolled up [Apache property],
And meat tied up in bundles,
And sinew tied in bundles,
And deer tails hanging.
From the tail ends blood was dripping.
That I much liked to see.

From above, behind me, there sounded,
The great blue fly, my pet.
Thus he said:
"What ails you? What are you doing,
Wandering thus?"
"They [the enemy] have spoiled our 'green weeds' (colloquial name for women),
And ran away laughing in many voices."

Then did I return,
I trailed their footprints and found two of their villagers.
The ground was soft [and held footprints]
Thus they said:
"I have seen nothing happening.
All day they [the warriors] have been here."

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[I said],
"I did not lose the trail,
I followed them straight.
And here the ground is soft.
Four times I circled round,
And I came back.
It must be here.
Come, admit it!
I will treat you as I would them."

Then I pulled out the club, hung to my belt.
With that I hammered them.
I finished them.(7 and 9)

727 783 As soon as the sunrays had struck the basket, its holder replaced the cover and handed the whole to the enemy slayer. It was now possible for him to touch this dangerous object, and he took it in his arms and addressed it as: "my child!" His wife called it by the name a woman uses to her children, and each of his children in turn called it "younger brother."

778 727 The warrior might now take it[1] home. He kept it wrapped in many layers of buckskin or in a jar, often not in the house "because of the danger of its power," but in a crevice in the rocks some miles away. The enemy slayer must visit it regularly, must supply it with offerings of eagle down, tobacco, deer tails, if he were a hunter, and sometimes with food. He must speak to it affectionately, reciting the ritual over it. This treatment made the trophy his servant and added the dead Apache's power to his own, but if he were lax in his attentions, he and his whole family would be open to misfortune.

He could, now, touch a dead enemy or an enemy's possessions without fear. The songs he had dreamed, or learned from his guardian during purification, could be used to purify other warriors, and he would be compensated with tobacco and food. He would expect to sit in the council, to have the right to speak, and to be generally regarded as a "ripe man."

[1] [Basket containing a scalp or other war trophy.—An.]

9

THE SALT PILGRIMAGE

ALONG the northern beaches of the Gulf of California 317
there are salt deposits, left in the low sandy stretches by the high 494
tides. The country is waterless and uninhabited, and few whites have penetrated it even to the present day. Records have been left of this forbidding waste of sand dunes by Kino, by Anza,[1] and later by Lumholtz,[2] and all thought they were lucky to get themselves and their animals through alive. But the Papago, since pre- [439]
historic times, have been visiting this wilderness to fetch salt, both for use and for trade. Velarde reports: "There is salt in the inlets on the coast. The Pimas take some to distribute to friends and relatives, especially the Pimas of the west (Papago). Those of the north care little about it." [3]

To this day the Papago continue their pilgrimages to the salt beds.[4] They have, through the centuries, worked out routes which take them past the few hidden "tanks," or rocky reservoirs, of rain water to be found in the wastes of sand. Even so, the last lap of the journey which brings them to the gulf must be made with no other drinking water than that in their canteens. Though they take canny means to compass the journey safely, they make no attempt to minimize its hardships. Rather, these are emphasized to the last degree and used as an occasion for heroism. Even in
the days of gourd canteens, they carried only the minimal quantity [492]
of water. Now that they have horses, they use them neither for
carrying extra water nor extra quantities of salt. They fast voluntarily, almost to starvation. [785]

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[1] Bolton, 1930, I, 90. [2] Lumholtz, 1912, pp. 196–254. [3] Velarde, Sec. 2, p. 127.

[4] The Pima do not make the salt pilgrimage, but say they always traded for salt with the Papago.

317 tarily, almost to starvation. They run until men have been known
484 to die from the effects. The south, which is the direction of the gulf, is often designated in their poetry, not by a color, but as "the painful direction."

The hardships, which have been thus raised from an accident into an institution, constitute one of the principal opportunities for gaining power. The journey is hedged about with ceremonial restrictions, from the time it is first proposed till long after the return. The salt pilgrimage is, in fact, very like a war party, and some of its rules are even more stringent. It is as though the Papago, who had so little to do with war, had transferred some of the magical elements connected with it to this safer and more regular form of ordeal.

The returned pilgrims were purified, like the enemy slayer and the eagle killer, and they achieved the same title: "ripe man." Their endeavor, like that of the other power seekers, resulted ultimately in rain. Pilgrims are thought to bring back with them the moist wind from the ocean, and the songs used for their purification are the same as those for the growth of crops. During the ritual the salt is ceremonially spoken of as corn. Yet it is not, in itself, sacred, any more than are the crops. After a little of it has been purified, just as specimen crops are purified at the cleansing
[439] ceremony, salt may be eaten, given away, or even traded, without further ritual. The Pima, who do not make the salt pilgrimage, used to get all their salt from the Papago by trade.

PREPARATION

[184
197] All the Papago villages, in the old days, made the salt pilgrimage. Now, some have dropped it, and others may have dropped most of the ritual. Only Santa Rosa and Anegam have a full set of songs and speeches, and the others admit that "they know how to get salt. The rest of us just do what we can."

Each main village had for the salt expedition a recognized leader who was known as *siiwanyi,* the old name for rain magician. His functions were both practical and priestly, for not only must he know the route and the water holes but also must make

ritual recitations and guide his party through a long series of 317
ceremonial acts. He was usually chosen by the former leader from 484
among the older men who had many trips to their credit, and he was expected to learn his duties by observation *en route*. As a leader grew old, he would begin to enlist the assistance of one of the more mature men, and finally the latter would step into his [602]
place without further formality. According to Papago pattern, the chosen assistant was a relative if possible.

The season for fetching salt was summer, after the high tides of spring had left a deposit on the beach. At this time the leader, after consultation with the keeper of the smoke, announced a meeting and told the conditions of the trip. "Now we are going down there. You will follow and obey everything. If you are lucky, you will be a good singer, a hunter, a fighter, a shaman."(1)

Young men with their careers before them volunteered for the expedition, especially if they had not had a chance to go to war, for salt gathering ranked almost with war as an opportunity for dreaming and acquiring power. Having volunteered for his first trip, a man must continue to go for four successive years or he would be ill. During these first four trips he ranked as a neophyte and must be purified on his return. Afterward purification was shorter, but he observed the ceremonial restrictions on the trail. After ten trips, there were no restrictions or purification, and he was eligible as a leader.

Any village which had decided on a trip would send messengers to its neighbors, inviting recruits. The neighbors held meetings in their turn and reported the number of volunteers; then a date was set when all the parties should meet at the first stop along the way. If there were many men, the date might be eight days later; if only a few, four days. From the night of the meeting all the [834]
future pilgrims remained sexually continent. The neophytes practiced running, since when they reached the ocean it was by running that they would obtain a vision. They collected their equipment, which must all be new, since used property might have come under the influence of a menstruating woman.

Since the coming of horses, a horse has been the first requisite 317
for the salt pilgrimage. But the Papago use this convenience spar- 484
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317 ingly. Each man took only one horse, rode it to the salt beds,
484 loaded it, and walked home. Each pilgrim must keep his horse
492 fresh for the trip. If he had none, he might borrow, and no one
[427 would dare refuse. The compensation to the horse's owner was
half a load of salt, or one saddlebagfull. The saddlebags taken
[415 were the ancient netted receptacles of maguey fiber. Inside these
the salt was wrapped in handwoven cotton sheets or, in old days,
[283 fiber mats. Each pilgrim must make ropes of hair or of maguey
fiber, for a bridle and for hobbling his horse. He wore, in the old
days, only breech cloth and sandals. At his waist he carried two
[415 canteens, made of gourds, covered with rabbit skin, and slung
[482 in a grass net. He also carried a pouch of parched corn meal and
the small watertight basket which was his only utensil for eating
and drinking. Beside the corn meal, "ripe men" might carry as
much dried squash, tortillas, or any other food as they could
manage.

317 For all equipment there was a special vocabulary, analogous to
484 that used on the warpath. The horse was called the partner; the
192 gourd, the jar; the basket, the dish; pinole, gruel; hay, weeds; salt,
corn. For other common terms there were words showing a similar
slight variation. These words the neophyte must learn and not
misuse, under pain of accident on the journey.

317 Each village took prayer sticks in some form, to be offered to the
484 ocean. The following list will show the variety introduced under
782 the general heading prayer-stick offering:
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Komarik: prayer sticks with two turkey or eagle feathers. Left at each camping place, and one thrown by each man into the sea.

Pisinimo: eagle down; no sticks. Each man brings his own down and throws it into the sea.

Anegam and Santa Rosa: peeled white sticks of western willow; no feathers. Carried by leader. One placed at every camp, and one given each man to throw in the sea.

Akchin: sticks with turkey or eagle feathers carried by leader, placed at each camp along the way and given men to carry into the sea and to bring back again. One large stick, with streamer of red cloth, planted on the beach.

San Miguel: strips of red cloth thrown into ocean.

All the villages took sacred corn meal as an offering. It must be 317
made from flat-headed corn (two ears growing together, so that 484
each had one flat side). Each man brought his own in a small pouch 782
of rabbit skin carried at the waist. [482]

During the period of preparation a meeting was held every night, at which the leader received reports of progress. When the last day arrived the leader asked: "Are you ready? Is everything new?" Next morning, when the dawn star rose, they started.

THE JOURNEY

There were two accessible salt deposits, reached by different 317
routes. One route led straight south, through Quijotoa and Sharp 484
Mountain, requiring only two days and a half. However, this meant 487
forced marches, when the men had sometimes to travel half the night in order to reach the one camp which had water. The village of Akchin, which followed this route, took the minimum time for ceremonials and recited no long speeches. The other route led west to Ajo Mountain and then south, past the present Pinacate. This took four days; Santa Rosa and Anegam, which followed it, had long rituals for each of the watering places.

They rode single file, with the leader ahead "like a quail with 317
her young." All the contingencies of the journey were dealt with 484
by forms of sympathetic magic. They must never step off the trail, [492]
for that might "ruin somebody's [some animal's] house," and the animal would become their enemy. They must never think of home and their women, for this would delay their progress. For the same reason, they must always sleep with their heads to the ocean that it might "draw them on." They must never spill a drop of the precious water from their canteens, or they would be punished by a flood. This happened to one informant. As a result, the party had to ride in a cloudburst, and they found the salt beds so flooded that they could scarcely excavate any salt.(4)

They observed the usual ceremonial restriction of speaking slowly and in a low voice, and Santa Rosa men were not allowed to speak at all.(4) For the neophytes there were other rules. They must obey every direction instantly and must never walk, but al-

317 ways run. They had two meals a day, noon and evening, and these
424 were special occasions for the exhibition of fortitude. They sat in
a circle, each holding his basket, but not touching the corn meal
he carried, while the leader stood in the center and spoke:

> x [539]. Was not this our purpose—that we should indeed make this journey on behalf of all? Thus we may attain much: great industry; great endurance of hunger; great energy. Something each man desires: to be a great runner, a shaman, a great singer, a great hunter. After having seen many things, look you, it is thus [as I have described] that each man will feel, look you, as he returns home [that is, he will have attained his heart's desire].(6)

This he said that "the men might realize the seriousness of the occasion." If they took it lightly, there would be an accident: a horse might escape or die, or a man might be injured.

After the leader had spoken, he went to the first neophyte. Taking from the man's pouch a little corn meal, he placed it in the
basket held ready and added water from the man's gourd, the man
himself not touching anything. The leader stirred the mixture and
handed it to its owner to drink, but the latter, if he was brave,
would let the corn meal settle and drink the thin solution on top,
[576] throwing the rest away. It was not etiquette for a man to turn his
back to the circle; "he might eat too much." "Ripe men" were
not subject to these restrictions, but ate as they pleased. They might
[274] also smoke, a privilege forbidden the neophytes. They puffed
toward the sun, with a long "A-a-ah!" and the usual invocation:
"You stand there [pointing]. Give me blessing. Give me life."

Each stage of the journey had its appointed ceremonial procedure, varying from the planting of prayer sticks with a very brief invocation, to the presentation of long ritual speeches. Komarik and Anegam left a prayer stick at each water hole, the Anegam invocation being:

> 317 2. Lo, it is my own offering, which already I have carefully made and
> x 424 finished. I have come bringing it, and thus I do: I will offer it. See it
> 539 and do for me increasingly [what I ask]. Grant powers to me: great
> speed in running; great industry; great skill in hunting. Grant powers
> to me: great lightness in running; great industry. I will take them;

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[539]x

I will journey back, and I will attain my desire. Not hard will it be to turn homeward, not hard to reach my land.(5)

This speech was impromptu. The one quoted was made by an informant who had special ambitions to be a runner.

Anegam and Santa Rosa made ritual speeches, those now preserved at Anegam being the most elaborate. On the second night of the journey (the first having ended a forced march), the Anegam crier called his men together.

3. Already has again leaped down [the sun] the gift of God, and shadow covers us. Already has arrived [Coyote] our shining-eyed comrade, our burning-eyed comrade. Around us four times he went, swiftly circling, then he stood still. His shining and his circling seemed of good omen. Then hurry! Gather quickly! Come together! That we may speed our ceremonies.[5](5) [539]x

The men seated themselves in a circle with arms folded and heads bowed. Each removed his sandals and tied a buckskin thong around his hair, that it might not blow and cause him to raise his hands, disturbing the meeting. The leader made an introductory speech known as The Heartening. [516]

4. Already has again leaped down [the sun] the shining traveler, and shadow begins to cover us. Already has arrived [Coyote] our shining white comrade and four times around us he went circling. Already has he strengthened our hearts and perfected them; he has strengthened our hands and perfected them; he has strengthened our legs and perfected them. He has done the same for our beasts. He has strengthened their hearts and perfected them; he has strengthened their hands (forelegs) and perfected them; he has strengthened their legs (hind legs) and perfected them.(5) [539]x

Then followed the speech known as The Preparation. This is actually a psychological preparation for receiving visions at the ocean. More than that, it is in the nature of a pattern for such visions. A neophyte, even though he completely lacked imagination, could hardly fail, when in a state of exhaustion and with this speech in memory, to imagine the experience expected of him.

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[5] In this speech circumlocutions are used instead of the important words "sun" and "coyote." In old days the sun was called the shining traveler, but Christian expressions have crept in.

317 484 537 The speech is one of those known as *s'hámpataki nyiö'k* (wise talks), which refer only to salt. The introduction is spoken in the usual oratorical style, with emphasis on the last word of sentence or phrase. This introduction describes at length the approach to the supernatural through tobacco smoke. But when the smoke has done its work and the suppliant finds himself before the supernatural, there begins the "throwing words" in monotonous panting form, which is the characteristic of salt orations.

317 5. Food she cooked for me;
484 I did not eat.
x539 Water she poured for me;
I did not drink.
Then, thus to me she said:
"What, then, is it?
You did not eat the food which I have cooked,
The water which I fetched you did not drink."
Then, thus I said:
"It is a thing I feel."

I rose, and across the bare spaces did go walking;
Did peep through the openings in the scrub,
Looking about me, seeking something.
Thus I went on and on.
Where there was a tree that suited me,
Beneath it prone and solitary I lay;
My forehead upon my folded arms, I lay.[*]

There was an ancient woman.
Some lore she had somehow learned,
And quietly she went about telling it.
To me she spoke, telling it.
Then did I raise myself upon my hands:
I put them to my face and wiped away the dust;
I put them to my hair and shook out twigs and rubbish.
I rose. I reached the shade before my house,
And there did try to sit; not like itself it seemed.

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[*] The Pima, who do not have a salt pilgrimage, include in their war speeches (Russell, pp. 358, 363) descriptions of a trance state like the above. Another indication that the Papago have, in some ways, made the salt pilgrimage a substitute for war.

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Then did I make myself small and squeeze through my narrow door.
On my bed I tried to lie; not like itself it seemed.
About me with my hand I felt;
About the withes that bound the walls I felt,
Seeking my jointed reed [cigarette].

Then, thus I did.
Within my hut I tried to feel about with my fingers,
At the base of my hut, in the dirt,
I tried to feel about with my fingers,
Seeking my jointed reed.
I could not find it.
To the center of the house did I go crawling [ceiling being low],
And the center post
Seemed a white prayer stick,
So like it was.
At its base did I go feeling in the dirt,
Seeking my jointed reed;
I could not find it.

There did I seize my flat stick [for hoeing].
I leaned upon it.
I made myself small and squeezed out the door.
Lo, I saw my ashes in many piles;
Already were they all hardened and all cracked.
I sat down, and with the hoe I went to breaking them.
Among them, somehow, did I find my reed joint.

Then did I scratch it.
Lo, there still tobacco lay.
There beside me, then, I saw
Near me lying a shaman ember charred.
Long ago had it grown moldy and full of holes.
I took it up, and four times hard did shake it.
Within a spark burst out and brightly burned.
Then the reed joint did I light, and to my lips I put it,
And somehow tried to move toward my desire.

Begin "throwing words."

In what direction shall I first breathe out?
To eastward did I breathe.

317 It was my reed smoke in white filaments stretching.
484 I followed it, and I went on and on.
x539 Four times I stopped, and then I reached
The rainhouse standing in the east.
Delightful things were done there.
All kinds of white clouds thatch it.
All kinds of rainbows form the binding withes.
The winds upon its roof fourfold are tied.
Powerless was I there.
It was my reed smoke;
Therewith did I go untying them.
Quietly I peeped in.
Lo, there I saw
Him (the rainmaker), my guardian
Yonder; far back in the house, facing away from me, he sat.
My reed smoke toward him did circling go
Toward the door; it did cause him to turn his eyes
And set him there.

Then did I say:
"What will you do, my guardian?
Yonder see,
The earth which you have spread thus wretched seems.
The mountains which you placed erect now crumbling stand.
The trees you planted have no leaves.
The birds you threw into the air
Wretchedly flit therein and do not sing.
The beasts that run upon the earth
At the tree roots go digging holes
And make no sound.
The wretched people
See nothing fit to eat." Thus did I say.

There did the entrails within him crack with pity.
"Verily nephew, for so I name you,
Do you enter my house, and do you tell me Something?
The people are afraid; none dares to enter.
But you have entered and have told me,
And Something, indeed, I will cause you to see."

"But let me reach my house" [I said], "then let it happen."

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

Then in his breast he put his hand and brought forth seed: 317
White seed, blue seed, red seed, smooth seed. 484
Then did I fold it tight and grasp it and rush forth. 539

I saw the land did sloping lie.
Before I had gone far the wind did follow and breathe upon me.
Then, down at the foot of the east there moved the clouds,
And from their breasts the lightning did go roaring.
Though the earth seemed very wide,
Straight across it fell the rain
And stabbed the north with its drops.
Straight across it fell the rain
And stabbed the south with its drops.
The flood channels, lying side by side,
Seemed many;
But the water from all directions went filling them to the brim.
The ditches lying side by side
Seemed many;
But the water along them went bubbling.
The magicians on the nearby mountains
Went rushing out, gathering themselves together.
The storm went on and on.
It reached the foot of the west, it turned and faced about.
It saw the earth spongy with moisture.

Thus beautifully did my desire end;
Thus perchance will you also feel, my kinsman.(5)

This speech, unlike most of the other orations and narratives, does not refer to anything in the origin myth. The "guardian" is not Elder Brother, and informants, when asked about him, could supply no further information: "the words of the speech were *given.*" But an Aztec prayer quoted by Sahagún [7] and addressed to the Tlalocs, or rain gods, has phraseology that is strikingly similar. /7/

No one has been able to escape the suffering and tribulation of the present famine. The animals and the birds themselves are in need on account of the great drought. It is pitiable to see the birds, of whom some have their wings falling and dragging on the earth as a result of

[7] Sahagún, Jourdanet, pp. 344-48.

171 their privations. Others fall and cannot stand on their feet. Others have their mouths open, panting to eat and drink.

As for the other animals, O Lord, it is grievous to see them walking and falling down with weakness, licking the earth, their tongues hanging out, their gullets open, panting with hunger and thirst. . . .

It is grievous, O Lord, to see everywhere the surface of the earth dry and unable to produce either grass or tree or anything which may serve for nourishment.

317 484 x539 The Aztec has no parallel to the vivid Papago description or the desert and the hut. The phrases quoted, if they are indeed a heritage from some Nahua prayer have undergone many permutations before inclusion in the salt ritual.

[184] Santa Rosa gives an abbreviated version of the same material.

SALT SPEECH IN CAMP

6. Thus was my desire.
Then hastily I ate the food which my wife had cooked;
Hastily I took my child in my arms.
"What is it?
What has he learned that he is acting thus?
The day has dawned when I must go."

Begin "throwing words."

Ready!
Then forth I stepped upon the west-lying road.
Utterly weary I was when evening fell.
Then I pushed together the remaining embers of my fire.
Beside them, with head bowed, I sat.
Within my pouch I thrust my hand
And brought forth my reed joint [cigarette].
I stood it up [in the fire, to light it];
I wet it.
Strongly I breathed out upon the west-lying road.
I asked of him, my guardian, many kinds of power.
I asked to be hunger enduring, thirst enduring, cold enduring.
I asked for swift-leaping legs,
Strong-grasping hands,
Keen eyes.
Four times the dawn poured over me

As I trod the west-lying road. 317 484 539x
Then I reached him, my guardian,
And more than I asked he did for me.
A mixture he made that was like white clay.
With it on my breast he marked me;
On my back he marked me;
On my shoulder tops, both sides, he marked me.
Then most perfectly did he purify me,
So that nowhere do I take any hurt,
Wherever I go.
Thus should you, too, do and think,
All you my kinsmen.(4)

On both routes a mountain was passed, just at the edge of the sandy waste which led to the gulf. The climbing of this peak and the first view of the "outspread water" was surrounded with ritual. 317 484 487

On the southern route, it was Sharp Mountain, reached on the second night. When the party was a mile or so from its base, the leader stopped them; bade the men tie everything tight on their horses and line up for a race. They galloped to the base of the mountain, where there was a tank, but when they reached it, no one must drink or water his horse. They waited till the leader arrived, having picked up any of the precious equipment dropped on the way. Then the neophytes must dismount and race on foot to the top of the mountain. "Part of the way you couldn't run. You had to crawl in the sand." 317 484

When each man reached the top, he turned to get his first view of the gulf and stretched out his right arm toward it; then moved the arm down his face and body, receiving power. The man with the prayer stick waved it. Then each planted a prayer stick, with the invocation:

7. I have brought the thing which I promised you. Now we are drawing close, and I desire something. I shall indeed remember that which I promised you, and I shall give it. Give me a good life and power.(6) [539]x

When they returned to the tank, they might drink. Here they filled their canteens, for it was the last fresh water they would

317 find. At a little distance grew the last tree they would see, and
484 from it they cut scratching sticks, to be used as soon as they had touched salt.

Then they went as far as possible that night, so that they might get to the ocean and back the next day. It would be a waterless twenty-four hours, and they had drunk all they could at the tank in preparation. At this last camping place they left all extra equipment, and each man deposited one of his canteens. When they returned from their day of salt gathering, they would be sure of a drink.

773 The peak where Anegam and Santa Rosa performed their ritual was Black Mountain,* the Ararat where Elder Brother is said to have landed in his olla after the flood. Here, also, there was water, which the neophytes might not drink until they had raced up the hill. The fleetest of them carried one prayer stick for all. He waved
788 it four times toward the ocean, then four times across his breast from right to left and four times down, while the others "cleansed" themselves with a similar motion. The man with the prayer stick then sat down and pounded it into the earth, with the usual invocation. Santa Rosa and Anegam also left prayer sticks at the tree where they cut scratching sticks.

317 On this last night, both Santa Rosa and Anegam made speeches
484 which prefigured the purification of the neophyte and his acquisi-
537 tion of power. The Anegam speech describes most vividly the neophyte's entrance into the water and the ceremonial throwing of corn meal, which was the actual procedure. In the visions of Anegam, Coyote was the traditional protector, while with Santa Rosa it is the unnamed "guardian" himself. The "marking" described is the same as that which is used in naming a child and in purifying a girl at puberty. It seems to stand for purification, though it is not now used for the salt pilgrim.

319 After the crier's call and "The Heartening," the Anegam speaker
484 said:
x 539

8. Thus was fulfilled my desire.
Toward the west a black road did lie.

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* Mexican, Pinacate.

Then upon it did I tread and follow it.
Four times did I camp and then did reach the wide-spreading water. 317

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Already had arrived the woolly comrade [Coyote]. 539x
Around us four times did he go circling,
And lo, already the white clay was mixed for me,
The owl feather for painting laid upon it.

To him did Coyote pull the young man and set him there.
With the clay across the heart he marked him.
Back he turned, and on the right shoulder marked him.
In front he crossed, and on the left shoulder marked him.
Back he turned, and on the back he marked him.
Then well he purified him.

There was corn meal, made from flat-headed corn.
I sprinkled a handful, and again a handful,
As I ran into the wide-spreading water.
Though dangerously it crashed toward me,
I did not reck,
But I walked near and cast the sacred meal.

There followed another wave.
I did not reck.
I walked nearer and cast the sacred meal.
Though dangerously it roared, crashing and falling,
I did not reck.
I cast the sacred meal.

There followed a fourth wave.
Dangerously it roared;
It crashed, it rolled over me, it broke behind me,
But firm I stood and sought what I might see.

Then did I come forth
And along the beach begin to run,
And somewhere there did come upon
[Coyote], our woolly comrade.
Our comrade with burning eyes.

Dangerously he turned upon me,
But I ran toward him and did not reck.
Nearer I came and cast the sacred meal.

317 Then did he run, did run and run,
484 Till at last he only walked
x639 And I did follow, and did come upon him.
In a circle did I run and come behind him.
I did not reck, but cast the sacred meal.

Again he dashed away.
I followed and did overtake him.
Then wild he barked and, crouching, turned to bite.
I did not reck, but cast the sacred meal.
Then he stood still and said:
"Verily, nephew, you will take away
All of my powers together,
And more and more a seer you will be
Of mysteries."

He took me, then, he took me;
He made me stand
Beside the wide-spreading water.
Under the spray that rose like smoke he took me.
Across on the other side he brought me out
To a pool of water thick as cactus juice.
He set me before it.

"Ready, nephew!
Now, if you are brave
You will drink all and you will take away
All of my powers together."
Then down I threw myself.
I drank and drank.
I drank it empty; then I scraped the dregs,
Folded them up, and carried them away.

Then, next, he took me
To a pool of water, thick with greenish scum;
He set me before it.
"Ready, nephew!
Now if you are brave
You will drink all and you will take away
All of my powers together."
Then down I threw myself.
I drank and drank.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

317
484
539x

I drank it empty, then I scraped the dregs,
Folded them tight, and carried them away.

Then, next, he took me
To a pool of yellow water
And set me before it.
"Ready, nephew!
Now if you are brave
You will drink all and you will take away
All of my powers together."
Then down I threw myself.
I drank and drank.
I drank it empty, then I scraped the dregs,
Folded them tight, and carried them away.

Then next he took me
To a pool of bloody water
And set me before it.
"Ready, nephew!
Now, if you are brave
You will drink all and you will take away
All of my powers together."
Then down I threw myself.
I drank and drank.
I drank it empty, then I scraped the dregs,
Folded them tight, and carried them away.

Then he stood still and said:
"If you shall take away
All of my powers together,
Then more and more a seer shall you be
Of mysteries."

Then he went, taking me,
And reached a land
Which lies before the sunset.
There abides the bitter wind.
Not slowly did we go.
About the wind's house dust lay scattered wildly.
Not slowly did he go and bring me there.
Then, leaping up, did I stretch out my hand.
I grasped the wind and slowly bent him down,

319 Till blood drops trickled from him.
484 Then from that house I seized
x639 A leather shield and a short club,
A well-strung bow and smooth, straight-flying arrow,
A sharp-cutting sword.
These did I bind together
And did return whence I had come.

That water did I reach
Which was thick like cactus juice,
And there a magician sat.
Coyote made me stand before him, saying:
"What will you do for this my nephew?
I have brought him here."
Then forth he brought his white magic power
And placed it in my heart.

Then did I reach
The pool of water thick with greenish scum.
There a magician sat.
Coyote made me stand before him saying:
"What will you do for this my nephew?
I have brought him here."
Then forth he brought his green magic power
And placed it in my heart.

Then did I reach
The pool of yellow water.
Therein a magician sat.
Coyote made me stand before him, saying:
"What will you do for this my nephew?
I have brought him here."
Then forth he took his yellow magic power
And placed it in my heart.

Then did I reach
The pool of bloody water.
Therein a magician sat.
Coyote made me stand before him, saying:
"What will you do for this my nephew?
I have brought him here."

317
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539x

Then forth he brought his red magic power
And placed it in my heart.

Then back Coyote took me whence we came,
And reached the wide-spreading ocean.
Under the smoke-like spray he carried me,
Even to that place where I had run along the beach,
And there he left me.
Then down I fell, but rose and toward the east came running.
He had not slept [the leader of the expedition].
Straight to him walking, into his hands I put
The power I had won, tight pressing it.

Then I saw emerge
[The sun], the gift of God.
Then up I looked, I followed the road,
I camped four times, and reached my land.

The powers I had won beneath my bed I placed.
I lay upon them and lay down to sleep.
Then, in a little time mysteriously there came to me
Beautiful drunken songs;
Beautiful songs for the circling dance;
Beautiful songs for the maidens' dance,
Wherewith the maiden I might cozen,
My songs the stay-at-home youths did learn and sing,
Scarce permitting me to be heard.

With my songs the evening spread echoing,
And the early dawn emerged with a good sound,
The firm mountains stood echoing therewith,
And the trees stood deep rooted.(5)

Again, the Santa Rosa version was abridged.

SALT SPEECH AT OCEAN

(Santa Rosa)

9. It was mysteriously hidden.
Wanting it, I could not find it.
In behind my house post I thrust my hand;
I could not find it.
There was a short leftover stick.
With this, feeling my way, I went out the door.
At the door my ashes were piled high.

317 Then, hard I struck them and out I took it,
484 My jointed reed [cigarette].
×539 Burnt out, it seemed.
Then I scratched it.
There at the side charred blackness lay.
Four times I struck it,
And out a great spark shone.
I lit it in the fire;
I put it to my lips;
I smoked.
Right swiftly white filaments stretched out
Until they reached the sunrise.

Begin "throwing words."

I followed, and I reached the sacred house
That stands within the east.
All kinds of cloudiness was there bound up,
And I could not unloose it.
It was my cigarette smoke,
Floating beneath the clouds, it did unbind.
I tried to see him, my guardian,
But squarely turned away from me he sat.
It was my cigarette smoke
Circling about; it turned him
And set him facing me.
What will he do, my guardian?
"Most wretched lies the earth which you have made.
The trees which you have planted leafless stand.
The birds you threw into the air
Alight in vain and do not sing.
The springs of water are gone dry.
The beasts that run upon the earth,
They make no sound."

"Indeed, indeed, my nephew;
Is this so hard to change?
Not hard it is if all think and act with one accord.
Know this and go back whence you came."

Then home I turned me.
Westward the land was sloping laid;

Across it slowly did I go. 317
I reached my sleeping place. 484
Four dawns I passed. 539x
Then, at the east a wind arose,
Well knowing whither it should blow.
The standing trees it went shaking;
The rubbish at the foot of the trees it piled.
All the way to the west it went, and there, back looking,
Turned itself and saw
The land well smoothed and finished.

Leaves on it there came forth.
A shining cloud toward the sky upreared
And touched it with its head.
All kinds of clouds together their crests upreared,
And with it they did go.
Although the north seemed very far,
Clear to the edge of it did they go.
Although the south seemed more than far,
Clear to the very edge of it did they go.
Then, within the great Rainy Mountains
A black cloud rose.
With them it mixed, and with them it did go.
Pulling out their white breast feathers
Did they go.

Then they stood still and looked.
Although the ditches seemed deep enough,
And needing no more digging,
Full to the brim they were,
With rubbish high piled on the edges.
Although the flood channels seemed deep enough
And needing no more digging,
Full to the brim, they were,
With rubbish high piled at the edges.
All the way to the west went [the clouds],
And there they turned and looked back.
They saw the land lying beautifully moist and finished.

Then on it old men in a circle sat
And held their meeting.

317 Then they scattered seed, and it came forth.
484 A thick root came forth;
x539 A thick stalk came forth;
Great broad leaves came forth;
A fair tassel came forth,
And well it ripened.
Therewith were delightful the evenings;
Delightful the dawns.

Thus, indeed, should you think and desire, all you my kinsmen.(5)

SALT GATHERING AND SEA POWER

317 Akchin reached the salt beds on the day after viewing them from the peak. The procedure was brief, for the men had left their extra canteens several hours' march away and must reach them before night. As they neared the salt beds, the leader urged them to hurry. They dismounted without ceremony; grubbed into the earth for the long stones embedded there, and with them smashed salt lumps and proceeded to load them. As they did so, they adjured the salt: "Belight! We are going back to see the old women." (6)*

317 782 When each man finished loading his horse, he approached the leader. The latter had, laid out before him, the sacred corn meal, the peeled prayer sticks, and the newly cut scratching sticks, also a piece of red cloth (in old days one of the hand woven headbands). This cloth he tied to a large unfeathered stick, which he planted in sight of the sea, with the usual invocation. Then he gave to each man a pinch of corn meal in his left hand and a prayer stick in his right. He also gave him a scratching stick to tie on his belt, with the instructions:

10. I give you, as your property, this stick for scratching. You will run, and you will reach the water. You will see how it continually comes toward you. You will approach it, and you will throw corn meal; corn meal you will pour upon it. There will come another wave: you will throw corn meal. There will come another (wave): you will throw corn meal. There will come another (wave): you will throw corn meal.(6)

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[887] * This refers to the old women who came out to meet the pilgrims on their return, begging for donations of salt.

The men walked into the sea, throwing corn meal on the ap- 317
proaching waves, as they were bidden. To these desert people the 782
waves had a peculiar horror, and the mere facing them was considered an act of bravery. Men who seem to make no great matter
of battle or starvation have recounted to the writer with deep
pride how they walked in up to their necks. They have heard but
vaguely of swimming, from the Seri and the Yuma. To them the [823]
ocean is the edge of the world, fraught with power and death.

The Akchin men retained the prayer sticks in their hands as a protection. After they had faced the fourth wave, they went back to the leader. They gave him the prayer sticks to be used on another occasion and dusted off any corn meal that had remained on their hands into his pouch. Then they left, walking behind their horses. Any visions which the ocean might vouchsafe would appear on the journey home or during the subsequent purification.

Santa Rosa and the other villages of the western route traveled 317
two days after viewing the ocean, since they must go along the [477]
coast some distance before reaching salt. The place they used, 782
called Salty Badger, was a bed a quarter of a mile long and half a 184
mile from the gulf. On reaching it, the neophytes dismounted and
Akchin planted a prayer stick. Then the neophytes ran four times
around the salt bed, counterclockwise(1, 4, 5),[10] while the older
men galloped around on their horses.

Then they began to break up the lumps of salt and spread them to dry on sheets or mats. As each man picked up his first lump, he made the motion of passing it over his body, saying: "Give me power. Let me safely reach my home."(4) Some addressed the salt bed: "We mean no harm. We have only come to gather salt."(5)

While the salt was drying, the neophytes went into the sea. In some villages each man had his prayer stick and corn meal; in some the leader provided it. One, San Miguel, threw into the sea only scraps of red cloth.

Pisinimo ran to the top of the first sand dunes, whence the waves could be seen, and there strewed corn meal, saying: "Be favorable to me. Be smooth. Let me run and see what I shall see." (1) When they reached the water, Pisinimo again gave an invocation: "Be

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[10] Cf. Huichol, Lumholtz, 1900, p. 19.

317
772 favorable to me. Give me life. Let me be a runner; a shaman; a
[184] singer; a hunter."

All those who had their prayer sticks threw them into the sea. If, for some reason, a man was not acceptable to the supernatural, the waves would return the prayer stick. The most usual reasons for rejection were failure in sexual continence during the preparations for the journey or the fact that a man's wife might be menstruating. However, "the sea cleans the sticks." If a man persevered and threw in his offering four times, it would be accepted.

Sometimes a man himself was taken by the sea and engulfed like the prayer sticks. Speech No. 8 speaks of such an experience. No one attempted to rescue the drowning man, for he was being
[776] summoned by the supernatural. He might reappear after many years as a powerful shaman, or he might be turned into a bird or a fish.

317 Any object which a man saw while in the sea was a special gift
824 to him from the supernatural. If he noticed a strand of seaweed, a shell, or a pebble, he sprinkled corn meal on the object, then took it home as a token, very powerful in cleansing salt pilgrims. A kind of seaweed known as "ocean foam" was particularly desired. Sometimes a man took hold of something which, when he found it in his hand, lost its beauty, and in that case he must put it back exactly where he found it, again sprinkling corn meal (5).

317 After their entry into the sea, the neophytes ran on the beach:
787 a strenuous test of their powers. There was a headland some twenty
481 miles from the salt bed, according to informants, and the men ran to this and back, not stopping except on the headland itself. Some men are reported to have perished from cold and exhaustion during this run, but all trained for it during their whole boyhood, for it was here that a magic experience was expected.

317 Everything that a man saw while running was an omen for his
781 future career. One informant saw a flock of white cranes, which seemed to him to be men running. He followed them and was able to keep pace, and from this he knew that he would be a great runner. One saw the white cranes playing with a kickball, and knew that he would excel in this sport. One, exhausted from running,

saw the mountain ahead of him revolving, and composed a series 317
of songs about it which made him one of the popular leaders for 727
the skipping dance. A legendary case recounts the story of a hero who heard a voice call to him: "The sea shaman wants to see you." He went into a cave, where he was taught songs, and when he emerged found that four years had passed. His house and property had been destroyed, as at death, and his wife considered herself a widow. But he was now a powerful shaman, so highly paid that he soon made good the losses.

There are no tales of men who failed to receive a vision. The 317
aids to the experience, both material and spiritual, were so many 787
that few could fail to have some sight or some emotion that might 154
be regarded as a message from the supernatural. In the subsequent weeks of fasting this could easily magnify itself into a vision.

The runners returned late at night, and the leader waited for them. Speech No. 8 describes him sitting, half dead with cold and weariness. They gave him the objects they had picked up, which must be purified before their power could be used.

PURIFICATION

Early next morning they loaded the horses and left, adjuring 317
the salt to be light, when they placed it in the saddlebags. As they 484
turned to go home, the leader addressed the ocean: "I shall now [482]
return. Do you make it easy! Blow me along that I may arrive safely." They started with the elders ahead, then the neophytes, and last the leader, "to push them with his power." They must not look back or think of the salt, because this would impede their journey. They might hear singing behind them, which was the ocean trying to tempt them, but if they heeded it, they would be unable to move. The prohibition against noise was particularly rigid. "It would make the ocean angry." The neophytes must use their scratching sticks and, at the first opportunity, cut new ones to replace those which had been touched by ocean air.

On nearing the home village, they camped just outside, so that 317
they could make an entry in the morning, and sent a messenger to

317 537 announce their arrival, as after a war party. The small boys came out to meet them with bull roarers,[11] which imitate the rain coming from the ocean. The old women came out in a group, begging: "Give me salt," and each man threw them gifts.

Each owned the salt which he had brought, except for two handfuls, which he must contribute to the common pile to be used for that evening's ceremonies. The rest he took to his house, where his family had spread a mat in the sun to receive it. Each member of the family took a handful, from which he breathed in to receive its power, and then the salt was dried; finally it was used or traded.

The family of each neophyte had prepared a shelter where he could pass the days of his purification, and his wife or mother made 887 the new clay dishes which he was to use. An old man had been selected to act as his guardian. This man met him and conducted him immediately to the shelter, where he spent the day in sleep.

317 783 That night a public purification was held, for in this instance the sixteen days of retreat followed the purification ceremony instead of preceding it. Since the salt pilgrimage usually took place in summer, the ceremony was held out-of-doors. A fire was built to the east of the council house and in the intervening space was placed a pile of salt, to which each pilgrim contributed two handfuls. If the men brought tokens, such as seaweed and shells, these were ranged beside the fire and, in some villages, prayer sticks were placed with them.

At the north of the fire sat the older men who had made the pilgrimage more than four times and who needed no purification but were competent to purify others. They were the singers of the evening and were furnished with scraping sticks and basket drums. Opposite them, at the south, sat the returned neophytes while the spectators sat at the east and the shaman at the west, ouside the door of the ceremonial house.

POSITIONS AT SALT PURIFICATION

317 783 276 The keeper of the smoke had charge of the ceremonies. He first passed a ceremonial cigarette around the circle to the right, each

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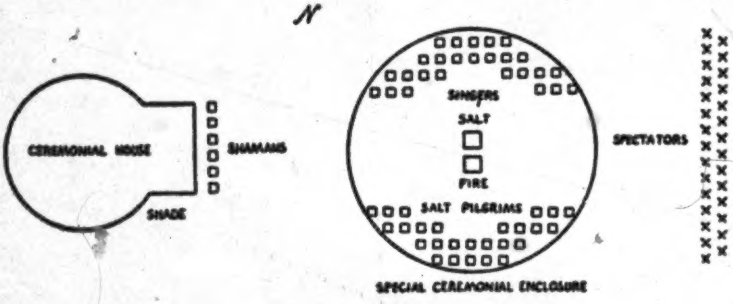
[11] Cf. Zuni, Stevenson, 1901–2, p. 354.

man taking four puffs, then passing it to his neighbor, who received 317
it and called the giver by the proper kinship term. When the ciga- 783
rette had passed around the whole circle, all bowed their heads, [276]



and a purification speech was made. No one was found who knew the Santa Rosa speech. The one recited is a variation of the material used in the previous speech, The Marking.

FOR SALT PURIFICATION 317
(Santa Rosa) 783
539 x

11. The remains of a cigarette did I place upright [in the fire, to
light it].
I put it to my lips,
I smoked.

To the rain house standing in the west I came.
All kinds of mist were bound up there,
And I could not (unbind them).
It was my cigarette smoke.
Circling around it, it entered and unbound them.
I tried to see him, my guardian,
But squarely turned away from me he sat.
It was my cigarette smoke.
Circling around, it turned him toward me.

Thus I spoke, to him, my guardian.
"What will happen?
Most wretched lies the earth which you have made.
The trees which you have planted, leafless stand.

317 The birds you threw into the air,
783 They perch and do not sing.
x539 The springs of water are gone dry.
The beasts which run upon the earth,
They make no sound."
Thus I said.
"What will befall the earth which you have made?"
Then, thus spake he, my guardian.
"Is this so difficult?
You need but gather and recite the ritual.
Then, knowing all is well,
Go to your homes."

Then back I turned.
Eastward, I saw, the land was sloping laid.
Slowly along I went.
I reached my former sleeping place and laid me down.
Thus, four days did I travel toward the east.
Then in the west a wind arose,
Well knowing whither it should blow.
Up rose a mist and towered toward the sky,
And others stood with it, their tendrils touching.
Then they moved.
Although the earth seemed very wide,
Clear to the edge of it did they go.
Although the north seemed very far,
Clear to the edge of it did they go.
Although the south seemed very far,
Clear to the edge of it did they go.
Then to the east they went, and, looking back,
They saw the earth lie beautifully moist and finished.

Then out flew Blue Jay shaman;
Soft feathers he pulled out and let them fall.
The earth was blue (with flowers).
Then out flew Yellow Finch shaman;
Soft feathers he pulled out and let them fall,
Till earth was yellow (with flowers).
Thus was it fair, our year.

Thus should you also think,
All you my kinsmen.(4)

After the speech, scraping-stick songs were sung. These have the 317 same introduction and ending as the songs to promote growth, 783 and in them the salt is spoken of as corn. All the songs quoted (pp. 533 72–75) might be sung at this time and, conversely, the salt songs might be sung at a growing ceremony. The introductory songs are the same on both occasions. Here these are omitted, and only those songs which refer to salt are quoted from the writer's collection.

SCRAPING-STICK SONGS FOR THE PURIFICATION OF SALT PILGRIMS 317

12. *Hi hianai hu!* 783
Here we pour it out and sing for it [the salt]. 539x
Here we pour it out and sing for it.
We shall pour it all out and eat it.
The blue fetishes we have brought;
We pour it out and sing for it.
We shall eat it all,
Hitcia háhina!

Hi hianai hu!
Here we pour it out and sing for it.
Here we pour it out and sing for it.
We shall pour it all out and eat it.
The yellow fetishes we have brought;
We pour it out and sing for it
We shall eat it all.
Hitcia háhina!(9)

13. *Hi hianai hu!*
The blue prayer stick.
Met me there.
Beside the corn
Black [birds] in a row are singing.
The kernels are blue.
Hitcia háhina!(9)

14. *Hi hianai hu!*
Blue evening
Knows all.
Then I take the blue corn kernel [a prayer stick]
And sing for it.
Hitcia háhina!

317
723
x539

Hi hianai hu!
Yellow evening
Knows all.
I take the yellow corn kernel
And sing for it.
Hitcia hdhina!(9)

15. Now I am ready to go.
The ocean wind from far off
Overtakes me.
It bends down the tassels of the corn.

The ocean wind,
From far it reaches me,
Far it blows and reaches me.
The squash leaves it has broken down.
Hitcia háhina!(2)

16. *Hi hianai hu!*
The ocean water hurts my heart.
Beautiful clouds bring rain upon our fields.
Hitcia háhina!(12)

17. *Hi hianai hu!*
The outspread water!
Running along it,
I seized the corn.
Hitcia háhina!

Hi hianai hu!
The outspread water [ocean]!
Running along it,
I seized the squash.
Hitcia háhina!(9)

A song is included here which was made on a recent pilgrimage, as a joke, by men wearing modern clothes. It was not sung at the purification, but is passed around privately, with much amusement. The rhythm and the refrain are correct.

18. *Hi hianai hu!*
Pink shirt!
Braid on his hat!

Bowlegged! 317
783
Hitcia hdhina!(18) [539]^{x}

After each two songs two of the singers walked over to perform an act of purification on the neophytes. They approached each one and laid a scraping stick on his breast and back, pressing down four times. As they did this, they breathed out, while the neophyte breathed in the power being given him. Each singer then spoke to him:

19. Hail! Thus do I to you. You will be like me. You will do much. [539]^{x}
You will go about much. You will be like me in action.(9)

Any other virtue of the singer might be augured for the neophyte. [793]

As the singers returned to their seats, one man who was a hereditary sprinkler of corn meal, rose and strewed the sacred meal made from flat-headed corn over their baskets and their scraping sticks, also over the piles of salt and of tokens. During all this performance, the shaman sat by the fire, looking into the salt and then [787] around the village in order to perceive any sickness or evil which might be present. He had his magic crystal in his hand and used it to "give light." The songs continued until morning, when the basket of salt was carried around by one of the pilgrims and distributed to the bystanders. As each took a lump, he breathed in [788] from it to obtain power.

BEFORE SALT IS DISTRIBUTED [539]^{x}

20. *Hi hianai hu!*
Morning is lulled to sleep.
Hitcia hdhina!
Morning is lulled to sleep.
Hitcia hdhina!
Finely ground corn [salt]
By daylight we will give.
Morning is lulled to sleep.
Hitcia hdhina!(9)

After the distribution the meeting broke up.

The neophytes now passed the usual period of seclusion to make 317
safe the power they had acquired for failure to do so would bring 783
753

317 on them and their families a disease called yellow vomit. The
783 writer has not identified this disease, but has found it frequently
753 mentioned by old Spanish writers as a pest of the country. The
Papago say: "It comes from the smell of the ocean or the smell of
the Apache. The Whites don't know that: that's why they have it
so much."(9)

317 The length of the period of seclusion varied. At Komarik it
783 was one month the first time, then four days.(9) At Akchin, eight
184 days the first time, then four.(6) At Pisinimo it was sixteen days,
with a move nearer the house after every four.(1) At Anegam it
was four days away from the house, with diet restrictions for four
days after the return.(5)

317 In any case, after each four-day period the neophyte was bathed
783 by his guardian in cool water. His face was not blacked as for
purification after war, but otherwise he was under the same restrictions. He was not allowed to eat meat, salt, or grease. He must
[262] not look at the sun or go near the fire. For the first day and night,
until after the public purification, he was allowed no fire at all.
Afterward he could have a small one, but he must fan, not blow
it.(6) Every four days the dishes he had used were thrown away,
each being "killed" by making a hole in the bottom, and new ones
were provided by the women of the family. The women cooked
for him, but on a separate fire, or a separate part of the fire, where
none of the family food had been cooked. He must use the scratching stick—according to some, the same which he had brought from
[184] the ocean, according to others, a new one every four days. His wife
was under no restrictions.[12]

[884] Neophytes generally made their first pilgrimage at sixteen or
seventeen, and this experience placed them within the ranks of
adults. The seclusion during purification was the time when the
[684] fathers of eligible girls often approached the parents of neophytes
to offer their daughters.

[171] [12] This pilgrimage has obvious likenesses to the simpler ones made by Zuni (Stevenson, 1901–2, pp. 354–360; Acoma (White, 1929–30, p. 139); Laguna (Parsons, 1923, p. 226); Cochiti (Goldfrank, p. 9); and Hopi (Beaglehole, "Notes on Hopi Economic Life," Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 15, pp. 52–55). It also has many points in common with the Huichol expedition to gather *hikuli or peyote* (Lumholtz, 1900, pp. 126–236 and 268–280).

10

EAGLE KILLING

THE third road to power was the killing of an eagle. This 825 was almost equivalent to taking a scalp, for the eagle, like the enemy, was a powerful shaman. The tale of the first dangerous eagle and of his subjugation by I'itoi has its place in the origin myth, before the emergence of the Papago from underground.

A monster eagle lived in a mountain cave, where he took a woman 825 to live with him and had a child. From the cave he flew down daily 539x to the settlements and carried off the inhabitants for his food.

I'itoi was appealed to. He promised to come in four days, but actually came in four years. Then he made various incomprehensible stipulations as to the weapons which were to be provided him. Finally the people guessed his desires and gave him an obsidian knife and a number of sticks of hard wood. He drove the sticks into the rock cliff and mounted on them to the eagle's cave. There he turned himself into a fly and waited until the eagle was asleep. With the help of the woman, he cut off the head of the monster and of his child. Then he revived the dead victims.

After the victory he placed the eagle feathers in a basket which is kept by "the one section of the Ancient People still in Papagueria," the inhabitants of Kaka. But he was sick from the power of the feathers and so taught the people the process of purification. He then promised that anyone who killed an eagle in the future should have power, but he must go through the same purification. A hawk would give power also, but in less degree.[1]

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[1] The Pima have the same story of the monster eagle (Russell, pp. 219–21). There [17] is no statement about eagle killing or purification, but Russell mentions curing with eagle songs (p. 263) as the Papago eagle killer does.

225 The writer did not succeed in identifying the birds eligible for this ceremonial killing. Almost every variety of hawk and eagle can be seen at some time in southern Arizona, either as migrant, winter visitor, or a year-long resident. However, the usual hunting time was in summer, when those most commonly found are [134] the golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaetos*), Swainson's hawk (*Buteo Swainsoni Bonaparte*), western red-tailed hawk (*Buteo borealis caluris*), and zone-tailed hawk (*Buteo abbreviatus*). The Papago said that all eagles gave power but not all hawks. In general the hawk was the younger brother of the eagle, not so important, but able to fly faster. He was the guardian spirit of runners, while the eagle was sought by the would-be shaman.

223 There was no ownership of nests, and the writer heard of no trapping ritual. The method most often mentioned was to shoot an adult bird when it was heavy after having eaten and therefore unable to fly.

223 However, some of the songs speak of captive eagles, so trapping
225 may have been practiced also. The act which gave power was the final plucking of feathers from the dead body. Every one of these had its purpose: the wing feathers as shaman's divining plumes, breast feathers as offerings and means to rain magic, tail feathers for war arrows. He who had plucked them and received his feather trophy, had all the honors of a "ripe man."

223 This exploit was easier than the war party or the salt pilgrimage,
783 and the purification, too, was less strenuous. In some places it was reduced to only four days, and the relatives of the neophyte were not affected at all.(5) At present, when war has ceased, and the salt pilgrimage is performed by only a few villages, eagle killing is the chief means to supernatural power. The writer saw two houses bearing the tuft of eagle down which means that the purification of a killer is in progress.

223 The man who planned this exploit selected his guardian just as
778 other power seekers did. He also selected some sheltered spot, far from the house, where he would pass his period of purification. Having killed his bird, he did not return to the house, but signaled from a distance, and the guardian, who was watching, came out to him. The first task was to pluck the eagle. The guardian did not

touch the feathers himself, since they were not yet purified and 223
therefore dangerous, but he pointed with a stick to show in what 778
order they should be pulled and laid down.

The killer stretched the eagle out on the ground and stood on its wings. First, under the guardian's direction, he pulled out the down feathers, which had special value as offerings to the supernatural and would become his own perquisite. He first took the down from under the right wing, then from the left, then from under the tail, from the back, and from inside the legs. That from under the tail, which is particularly soft, he tied to a stick, in the manner of a prayer stick. This he stuck upright in the ground beside him during the period of his seclusion, while the rest of the down was placed in a buckskin bag to await purification.

The next feathers to be plucked were the two top wing feathers, one from the right wing and one from the left. It was these top feathers, and no others, which were used as shaman's divining plumes. They had a special name, *mátcuita'k* (that which finds out). They were the perquisite of the guardian, who, if he were not a shaman himself, might keep them for trade at a high price. The plume from the right wing was laid down first, with its tip to the east, then that from the left, crossing it, with tip to the south. After them the other plumes were plucked alternately from the two wings and laid down in regular order, so that a cross was formed with wing tips pointing north, east, south, and west.[2] Above the wing feathers the tail feathers were laid, continuing the cross formation. The feathers were then covered with a mat or buckskin weighted with stone, and the killer took his place beside them for his sixteen days of purification. Until this period of quarantine was over, no one but the guardian must approach him and no one at all must touch the feathers, on pain of illness.

The details of purification differed in different localities, as 223
they did with enemy slayers and salt pilgrims. Some villages con- 783
sidered this contact with the supernatural so much less important 184
than the others that they made the retreat only four days.(5) Others,
like Kaka, used a graduated form of retreat in four periods of four
days each.

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[2] The usual Papago circuit is counterclockwise. The informant could give no rea- [823]
son for the change in this case.

223 days each. The first period was passed at some distance from the
783 house, then the neophyte took a cold bath and moved nearer, until at the last period he was just outside his home.

The general rules for his behavior were the same as those for the warrior and the salt pilgrim.

223 During his seclusion the eagle killer, like the other neophytes,
783 gained power in two ways. His guardian taught him what eagle
787 songs he himself knew, to be used in the priestly function of purifying other eagle killers. But also the young man expected to dream. The spirit of the dead eagle would come to sit beside him and, acting as a guardian spirit, would impart to him various sorts of useful information which would help in his future career. Such information might lead in any direction, and many young men whose propensities had not yet shown themselves chose this easy form of contact with the supernatural as a means of determining their life work. The experience could be repeated until satisfactory results were obtained. Though it was not thought right to kill more than one eagle in one year, a boy might continue killing and dreaming every year until he had the power he wanted.

One man, known to the writer, killed four eagles in four successive years. During his first seclusion he dreamed directions for making a set of gaming sticks, with the assurance that he would always win. In the next two periods he dreamed a series of songs which made him especially potent as a purifier of eagle killers. It was only during his fourth period that the eagle spirit sang him songs which led to a career of shamanism. Other men, who had killed only one eagle, dreamed of success as runners, hunters, or fighters.

223 When the period of seclusion had passed, the guardian of the
783 eagle killer summoned singers for the purification ceremony. In old days these were men who had themselves killed eagles and had learned the songs from their guardians, with possible additions through dreaming. In recent years, when eagle killers have been few, anyone who has managed to learn some songs is invited. The singers arrived at night and took their places in a circle, without fire. The eagle killer, if it were his first eagle, sat at the south side of the circle, with the guardian at his right. For his second eagle,

he sat at the west, for his third at the north, and only for the fourth 223
could he sit at the east. 783

The singers squatted in silence, until finally the guardian took the prayer stick from beside the eagle killer and, holding it in his hand, sang the first song. When he had finished, he passed the prayer stick over the body of the eagle killer, placing it first on his head and then stroking downward over his body. With each stroke, he blew outward, wishing for the eagle killer the same kind of success in life which he himself had had.

He then passed the prayer stick to the man at his right, and 223
so it went counterclockwise around the circle, each man singing 783
four songs and stroking the killer with the prayer stick. Some of 777
the good luck auguries made at this time are quoted from an actual ceremony.

By a deer hunter.

1. Hail! Thus I do to you. Thus you will do in the future. A little 223
way off stands a mountain. You will follow [tracks] around it; you 783
will kill some game; you will feed yourself. Thus do I, as a good 777
hunter, follow my game. I go forth in the morning; I kill my game; 539x
I feed myself.(16)

By a runner.

2. Hail! Thus I do to you. You will be like me. I am so fast a runner that if anyone ever catches me I will give him all I have.(16)

By a hunter.

3. Hail! Thus I do to you. Thus you will find yourself doing. Thus I do. The flat land lies stretched out wide. I follow [tracks] across it. I walk and walk. I kill game. I eat it.(16)

When each man in the circle had sung four songs and had performed 223
his act of purification, a cigarette was made by any man 783
who had brought tobacco and was passed counterclockwise, each [276]
man receiving it from his neighbor with the kinship term and giving four puffs. The singing then proceeded as before. No one must sleep or go home until morning. Singers might rise and leave the
circle, but the eagle killer must remain in position—upright, with [516]
legs straight before him, arms folded and head bowed.

783 Eagle songs which have the correct form are always in two verses,
539 the first dealing with the eagle, the second with the hawk. A
223 singer goes through both verses, then repeats the whole four times.
Of the songs quoted below, two are from the origin myth and describe I'itoi's adventure.[2] A few others are part of an old cycle, of which the beginning and ending songs are noted. The ending song, however, has no distinguishing characteristic, and apparently its use as a finale was a matter of habit, not logic. The others form a cycle dreamed by a modern eagle killer in the order given.

I'ITOI'S SONGS

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783
539

4. I feel myself great.
They ask me to kill the eagle.
Near Ventana Mountain
I lie.

I feel myself great.
They ask me to kill the monster woman.
Near Poso Verde
I stand.(19)

5. I am very great,
Therefore they told me
To kill the eagle.
From Iolikam I descend;
As a great man I sing.

I am very great,
Therefore they told me
To kill the eagle.
From O'otkam I descend;
Beneath it I sit,
And as a great man I think.(16)

OLD CYCLE

INITIAL SONG

6. The eagle taught me
The use of a bow.
Then I made a beginning.

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[2] For Pima eagle songs see Russell, pp. 277-78, 289, 291-92, 306.

223
773
539ˣ

The hawk taught me
The use of an arrow.
Then I made an end.(16)

7. I was drunk.
The wind blew hard.
(Archaic words)
Across a flowerless place
Of many winds
It took me.(16)

8. Reed Mountain stands up toward the west.
There an eagle cries;
The flat land resounds.

Baboquiviri stands up toward the east.
There a hawk cries;
The mountains echo.(16)

SONG OF A FEMALE EAGLE

9. Did you not treat me ill?
My beautiful child you took.
I am anxious;
All night I scream.(16)

FINAL SONG

10. A black-headed eagle
On a low rock
Flapped its wings.

A white-headed hawk
On a low rock
Descended.(16)

CYCLE DREAMED BY A MODERN EAGLE KILLER(16)

11. Eagle bird!
When he alights
There is a sound of thunder.

Hawk bird!
When he perches
There is a sound of lightning.

223
773
539

12. Your feathers,
Eagle, my older brother,
Like a bow
In every direction, wavering, I throw.

Your down,
Hawk, my younger brother,
Like an arrow
In every direction I let fly.

A caged eagle speaks.

13. Eagle, little bird
In a circular shelter!
Under it he walks about.

Hawk, little bird
In a narrow shelter!
Under it he walks about.

14. In front of a black mountain
Eagle feathers are blowing about.

In front of a white mountain
Hawk feathers are blowing about.

15. Eagle, my older brother,
Like a bow, in every direction
I bend your long feathers.

Hawk, my younger brother,
Like arrows, in every direction
I let loose your down feathers.

16. Under the west
Many roads cross each other.
Beside them I see Eagle,
My elder brother.

Toward the east
Many roads cross each other.
Beside them I see Hawk,
My younger brother.

223
783
539x

17. I lay on the ground;
A man came.
What will he do to take me?

18. An eagle is walking;
Toward me it is walking.
Its long feathers blow in the breeze.

A hawk is running;
Toward me it is running.
Its down feathers ruffle in the wind.

19. On a rocky mountain
An eagle flaps his wings.
There I flap with him.

On a yucca-clad mountain
A hawk ruffles his down feathers;
There I ruffle with him.

An eagle speaks.

20. On a black rock I lit.
My beautiful long feathers
Are cut.

A hawk speaks.

On a white rock I jumped.
My beautiful white down feathers
Are rumpled.

An eagle speaks.

21. I died and lay here.
I got up and looked upon the ground;
The ground lay stretched out green.

A hawk speaks.

I fell and lay here.
I got up and looked upon the mountains,
The mountains stood up yellow.

The songs were over at dawn. The guardian handed the prayer stick to the eagle killer and directed him to go and take a cold

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223 bath, after which his ordeal would be over. Then the guardian
783 distributed the remaining eagle feathers to the singers, who might
515 use them for arrows or for trade.[4]

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[4] Eagle killing is still practiced by individuals scattered over the reservation.

11

GIRLS' PUBERTY DANCE

THE dance for girls at puberty has here been classified with the rituals of purification because its fundamentals are undoubtedly the same. However, it is simpler than the purifying of men and involves only the negative process of getting rid of contamination without the positive result of obtaining power. A Papago man who underwent purification had first committed some act putting him in contact with supernatural power but, with a girl, such contact was involuntary. At the period of maturity, she automatically became the vehicle of a terrific force, and the emphasis of the succeeding ceremony was not on her dreams or her future career, but on the controlling of this force. 881

The mysterious power which descended periodically upon women was thought to be entirely incompatible with the life and activities of men. A male who touched a menstruating woman might die, and even to see her would cause weakness. Contact with her would take the strength from his weapons and poison his food. For the sake of the community, therefore, she must be segregated whenever the magic came upon her, and every family had a hut where its women could be sent at the proper time. 841

A girl at puberty remained in this hut for four days and underwent the usual restrictions of a retreat: cold bath, abstinence from meat, grease, and salt, prohibition against looking at the sun or at fire, against talking loud or scratching her head.[1] But, as has been mentioned, her fast was purely formal, not a test of 881

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[1] For detailed account of menstruation restrictions see Underhill, 1939, pp. 163–67.

[p. 253]

881 endurance. She learned no ritual, and instead of sitting and awaiting a dream, she was expected to work particularly hard. Dreams were unnecessary, since her future career as a bearer of children was already settled and special power would come into her life only when it was obtained by her husband and automatically extended to her.

But it was very important that her character should be set on lines of virtue and industry. The Papago shared the belief common in the area that first menstruation is a time of special sensitivity, when tendencies are established for all time. Therefore, during these four days it was essential that the girl rise early and fetch quantities of wood and water as she would need to do in later life. She must grind corn, work at basketry, and, in fact, not allow herself an idle moment. The only reference to dreaming during this [787] period is the statement: "If she worked hard, the *kots* (a magic serpent) would come and teach her basketry designs."(26)

The family selected some female relative, on either side, who was noted for her industry to be the girl's instructress. This cicerone cared for her charge in the segregation hut for four days, but must continue to exercise her in habits of industry "until the moon came round to where it was before." Sometimes they remained in the hut for this probationary period, or they might go to the home of the instructress or of the girl. At the end of this month came a second four days of seclusion and then a ceremony with a shaman, entirely similar to the christening of a baby and the purification of a mother after childbirth.

881 During the month of partial segregation a dance[2] was held to
786 help in purifying the girl and to make her "breathe out the dan-
535 ger." This ceremonial, the *wuáka,* was one of the oldest Papago institutions. Its origin is not even described in the myths, for it "was there from the beginning." It was at this dance that Elder Brother made himself so obnoxious that the people decided to kill him. It was a time of gaiety and of permissible license. Anyone, but particularly the song leader, had a perfect right to sexual liberties. The rituals even mention "songs with which to approach a maiden at her puberty dance."

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[2] Russell (pp. 182–83) describes a similar girl's puberty dance for the Pima.

In the southern part of the reservation the dance lasted four [184]
nights(29); in the northern part, a whole month. It was given 535
wherever the family happened to be, either in camp or in a perma- 881
nent village. "We used to have good times in cactus camp," one 786
informant said, "because somebody would be sure to reach puberty,
and then we would dance all the time."(26)

The length of the time of dancing depended on the wealth of 881
the girl's parents, since they must give a meal to the dancers every 535
night. Poor people might omit the dance entirely, trusting to 556
purification by the shaman to relieve the girl from danger. People
who were well supplied sent word to neighboring villages and
camps as soon as the girl's four-day seclusion was over, and crowds
arrived every night to join in the gaiety.

There were several men in any village who knew the appropriate 881
songs. These they might have dreamed during some period of puri- 533
fication, or they might have learned them from others. The posi-
tion of song leader for this dance was a popular one, since the
leader danced next to the maiden. He and other men dancers re- [786]
ceived no pay except a meal at midnight. Their enjoyment of the
dance came from the license permitted. The young girl dancers [431]
received gifts from the maiden, "because they stayed up all night
with her." If the dance lasted a month, she generally, when it ended,
had disposed of all her clothes and ornaments except what she wore.

In this dance men and women stood side by side in two lines 881
which faced each other. They placed their arms over each other's 535
shoulders and pulled their blankets across in front of them to
make an unbroken covering for the whole line. This was the only
dance where such close contact was permitted.

At the end of one line danced the song leader, with the maiden
at his left and the rattle in his right hand. His wife danced op- [533]
posite. The lines walked back and forth toward each other sing-
ing, for there was no choir on this occasion. After each four songs
they rested, though the girl herself was not supposed to sit down.
Her family provided a nonintoxicating drink of cactus juice or [272]
some brew of berries and fruit. For the meal at midnight they [262]
might kill a deer or provide a stew of rabbits, beans, and corn.

If the dance lasted a month, more than one song leader had to 881
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881 be called in. Men who heard of the performance often came from
536 great distances. There was a standard technique for use of the
538 rattle. Before midnight it was shaken with a circular motion to
the right; after midnight it was shaken vertically. Puberty songs
often did not concern the girl, but referred to any dreams of the
composer. There was a standard ending, *mim,* or *mum* which
sounds like a prolongation of the suffix for continued action.

881 Songs were recorded from two informants, both official singers
539 for the dance. The series of each has been grouped separately.

FIRST SERIES(16)[2]

1. The sun is setting;
Here I stand and begin to sing.
A cloud stands over the segregation hut
In front of Reed Mountain.
All the clouds I am taking.

2. Poor little maiden!
In the evening you will clasp hands.
In the evening I arrive and hasten hither.
Hither I hasten and sing;
Songs follow each other in order.

3. Poor little maiden!
Four nights you will sing.
I stand, and songs begin.
Come, run hither! come, run hither!
Songs begin!

4. Evening is falling.
At evening I run.
Far, far, to Baboquívari
I run and run back.

5. Lo, it is the duck children!
In the water they swim.
Thither I run and hear them talking.
The water is murmuring.

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[2] Russell (p. 330) quotes one song as belonging definitely to *wuaka* (Papago, *wuaka*) girl's puberty. A number of others, variously classified, are in the style of the Papago songs, with their mention of wind, butterflies, etc. See Russell, pp. 292, 293–97, 309, 317, 322.

6. Many clouds
Float on the mountain,
Float on the mountain.
Before it I am standing;
Wretched, I am standing.

7. In front of Baboquívari Mountain
A cloud stands.
Toward it I run.
Hither and yon
Drunken I run.

8. Horse Mountain stands alone;
I entered it and looked.
Then on the summit I looked.
Hither and yon I ran.

9. The stars fell;
The stars fell.
To the top of the mountain
I came.

10. The outspread water! [ocean]
Many birds, singly, [flew out],
All making different sounds.
It is dark;
The wind blows.

11. The black crow
Knows nothing.
The little blackbirds
Made everything.
There they erected a mountain;
Yonder, a red mountain.

12. Long Mountain
Stands far away.
In front of it
Songs begin, begin;
Here, in front of it, they begin.

13. The shining mocking bird
At evening could not sleep.

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When the moon was in mid-sky
He ran to the puberty dance.
At early dawn
High did he raise his song.

14. Crane birds!
At early morning
I saw them over yonder.
When day came, they descended,
Calling.

15. Come all! Stand up!
Just over there the dawn is coming
Then [I hear]
Soft laughing.

SECOND SERIES(17)

16. On Baboquívari Peak
There is fire.
I reached it and saw.
The wind blew hard,
And all the ground
Was shining.

17. I stood there, Elder Brother.
I stood there, Elder Brother.
All night it blew, Elder Brother,
All night.

18. On the flat land
A rainhouse stands,
Covered with clouds.
Very white, it stands.
Butterfly wings are about it.
I like it.
I saw it all.

19. The singing place
Of the Monster Woman!
Around it many feathers are placed.
Many evenings and dawns appear.
It is windy.

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20. Horse Mountains [in Mexico]!
Night came over them;
There I stood.
I stood with others in a circle,
An opening at each side.
Then I awoke.

21. I knew not [what befell me]
Darkness followed me.
It [knocked me down
And] rolled me over and over
Westward.
Light was stretching out.

22. Inside Baboquívari
There is a roaring, roaring.
From within it a cloud comes forth.
These fields it will moisten.

23. Lo, the maiden!
In the west, one by one,
Songs begin.
Toward them I make my way.

24. On I'itoi's singing place we stand;
All over it we run.
The dawn is coming,
And there the gourd rattle sounds.

25. Yonder I ran,
Yonder where the sloping road lies;
I ran along it.
What am I doing
All over the earth?

26. Above Quijotoa Mountain
Stand terraced clouds.
Above them the mocking bird sings,
Flapping his wings.

27. Darkness reverberates;
It rolls me over and over.

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x539

Beside the singing place
I lie down.
[Darkness] reverberates.

28. I know not what I do;
Here I am lying.
Now I leap up.
Circling, I sing.
I go about.
I leap up.
Circling, I sing.

881 The girls' puberty ceremony is no longer performed. Only the
343 oldest people remembered its details. Segregation huts, however,
184
177 are still used in some remote districts.

PART FOUR

THE USE OF POWER

[p.261]

[p.262 is blank]

12

SHAMANISM

756 THE shaman was the only individualist in Papago society. He received genuine pay for his services, while others, even those with power visions, worked only for their food. He was not afraid of being rich, nor did he resent the epithet of "stingy," which would blight another man. But he paid for his eminence with the constant risk of his life. He must guess correctly at the outcome of war and games, for if he failed and had no equivocation ready, he was liable to lynching. If he lost too many patients, he must be quick to accuse some other shaman of sorcery and to choose one weaker than himself, lest the accusation rebound and destroy him. Only a bold and astute man could have sustained such a role, and it was, perhaps, his unusual character as well as the dread of his power which subjected him to the constant suspicion of sorcery.

VARIETIES OF SHAMANISM

791 The Papago shaman (*mákai*) was primarily a diviner and prophet.[1] He "saw" the date of the first summer storm, the outcome of games, the whereabouts of the enemy, or the cause of disease. Subsequent action was often the responsibility of others. Still, the prophet-shaman could work various forms of magic, either to show his own power or to prevent sorcery. "A rain shaman could spit on a crystal, hold it toward the sun, and cause drops of water to fall out." He could shake rain from his eagle plumes or from the

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[1] The Pima also use the word *mákai* for diviner and magician (Russell, pp. 258–60), while the curing shaman is *siatcokam*. The Papago do not differentiate the two, but the difference in terms is, perhaps, not to be taken seriously, since the Papago have another word (*siiw'anyi*) for rain magician. Possibly there were several terms current in the area at one time, and standardization may have been a local development.

791/plumes strung over the dance ground at the rainmaking ceremony. The husband of one informant could "spit on a stick, twist it, and wring out water."(26) Such a man was known as *siiwanyi,* which means rain magician, rather than mere medicine man. It is the term applied to the rulers of the greathouses and also to the leader of the salt pilgrimage, who brings rain from the ocean.

756 War shamans were meeters of the owl in whose body the souls of the dead could become incarnated. Such a shaman accompanied a war party and spoke with the spirits of Papago warriors dead in the enemy country, who acted as spies on the Apache movements. Less often, he communicated with the peaceful dead at home. Miss Densmore [2] quotes some songs by an "owl woman" who held such communication in recent times. Other shamans acquired special powers for bringing luck in games and casting spells on the opponents. Before a kickball race, two who were so gifted rolled the ball back and forth between them, singing to insure power to their side. When the shirts, baskets, and hides wagered by the rival villages were piled up, each hoard was guarded by a shaman. During the wait before the race, these champions sometimes gave proof of their powers by swallowing swordlike sticks, eating fire, walking on hot embers, and causing objects to disappear. No harm came to the shaman who was worsted in the contest, but the poverty of his powers, thus revealed, took the strength from his village and made it almost certain to lose in the contest.

756 Shamans owned love magic. A "mushroom," which corresponds
232 to the Huichol description of peyote, was a strong love charm. A
[324] man stalked it like a deer, and shot it with an arrow before it had
time to disappear into the ground. He must then give it to a sha-
man for magic treatment before he could carry it as a love charm.
One informant reported of a shaman: "He had four wives. By the
time he took the fourth, he was a very old man, but as a shaman
he could 'do something' to make her love him." Four, it may be
[595] mentioned, was the traditional number of the shaman's wives,
while the average man rarely got beyond two. The standard taunt
to one who could afford more was: "Well, have you become a
shaman?"

[2] Densmore, pp. 114-34.

Shamans were paid for their love magic, but for their public 756
services in war or rainmaking they received no return. "It brought good to the village, and they had their share."

The function which made a shaman rich was his dealing with disease, but here, too, he was seer and diagnostician more often than healer. This was because in the Papago area there were diverse [753]
explanations of disease, each demanding its own form of cure and its own practitioner. The shaman's "seeing" of one of these forms of disease had nothing to do with symptoms. These were ill defined at best, and any one of them might be attributed to any cause. Diagnosis was a purely introspective matter, in which the supernatural influence which had sent disease was revealed to the shaman in a vision. Treatment was then a matter of routine.

There were three supernatural causes of disease, all treated on 753
the principle that like cures like. One was ceremonial lapse, which 756
meant some error or disrespect committed at a ceremony. Against such a breaking of taboo the shaman was powerless, and cure was in the hands of the ritualists who managed the performance. A second cause was the ill will of animals. Each of these controlled some particular disease, sent as punishment on human beings who had offended it. Again the shaman was powerless unless he had dreamed of the animal in question. He must send for that animal's "meeter." Only one kind of disease was usually treated by the shaman himself. This was the kind caused by the intrusion of a foreign object in the patient's body, an explanation which was, perhaps, the most widely accepted of all. The object was thought to have been shot into place by sorcery, and therefore the shaman, a potential sorcerer himself, was the proper person to remove it. His remedy was sucking, and many of the shaman-prophets added this to their other specialties. Some diagnosticians, however, "did not have it in their dreams," and in that case they called in another shaman.[2]

[2] It would appear from Russell (pp. 261–62) that this, too, may have been the case with the Pima. He gives a somewhat confused account by a patient in which four shamans sang in succession. The first two, who gave no treatment, were obviously diagnosticians. The second two, who used the usual curing paraphernalia of rattle and feathers, were probably sucking shamans, for one finally sucked out the evil.

SHAMAN'S PREPARATION

756 According to the shaman, his power came entirely from dreams, unaided by human teaching. Sometimes he received his vocation very early and without his own volition.

> A boy may be walking somewhere, and he meets someone who is really a turtle or, perhaps, a mountain lion or an eagle. This person says: "You will be a shaman. Do this and do that." If the boy wants to be a shaman, he will not tell the dream; but if he does not want to, he tells it and spoils its power.(9)

The accounts indicate that some dreamers might have been neurotic or even epileptic.

> My little brother used to fall down dead. Once in every moon he would do that. Then we knew that he was meeting some animal. When he seemed to be dead, he was away talking to Coyote. My father and mother saw, but they were not worried: they were glad he was to be a shaman. If a shaman came to our house to sing, my brother would sing with him, and sometimes, too, he would lie and sing to himself.(26)

Such experiences came usually to boys, but girls were not debarred.

> When I was a young girl, I was always running about on the desert, looking at things. My heart was not cool. I thought I saw Coyote, when there was no Coyote there. Then I saw a spider on the central post of the house, and he stopped and looked at me, just ready to speak. I made a song; a song about Coyote.
>
> They had a shaman to sing over me to find out what was the matter, and in the morning he said: "She could be a shaman."
>
> "That cannot be," said my father. "We have one shaman in the house, and that is enough."
>
> Already the divining crystals were growing inside me, but the shaman sucked them out. He leaned over me and sucked them out of my breast, one by one. They were as long as the joint of my little finger, white and moving, like worms.
>
> The shaman said: "Look! I have taken them out before they got big." Then he made a hole in a giant cactus and put them inside.(26)

Most women were discouraged from practicing shamanism until 756
after childbearing age, and the prowess they could attain after 562
such a late start never gave them important standing. As in White 887
society, women doctors usually confined themselves to obstetrics
and children's diseases.

Shamans did not always wait for a vision. The neurotic boy 756
might receive one early and might or might not venture to follow
it. The determined man would go to seek it. The usual possibilities of scalping, eagle killing, and salt gathering were open to him, and shamanistic dreams are reported from all these experiences. Scalping, however, usually brought war power and the salt pilgrimage, though very effective, was too infrequent. The simplest expedient was the killing of an eagle.

A shaman of the writer's acquaintance killed four successive eagles in as many summers while acquiring his power or, in other words, making up his mind to the hazards of a shamanistic career. The spirits of the dead birds came to him according to pattern, and the first merely told him how to make reed tubes for the game of hidden ball. He became a successful gambler, but, not satisfied, he tried again the next summer.

> The eagle came again looking like a man. He took me to a place where the sun lay on the ground, with a palisade of stakes around it. He said: "Get in." I did. Then we both stood in the sun. After that, we rose in spirals to the upper darkness. It was full of snakes. We passed through them and came to some houses, facing north. The guide asked me to sleep in one, but I refused. He said: "Where will you sleep?" I said: "At home." It seemed there was no way to get home, but the guide showed me a hidden gate. So I went out by it and home.

This vision gave the dreamer a conviction that he was fit for supernatural experiences. So, the next summer he killed another eagle. This time the visitant taught him a series of songs. They concerned supernatural experiences and were to be used to induce a state of trance, but did not refer to any special power.

SHAMAN'S SONGS DREAMED AFTER EAGLE KILLING (16)

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x 539

Eagle, visiting the visionary, thinks the reed tassel is another man and retires.

1. Alone I am standing.
The reed tassel frightens me.
I came out and lay down.
It frightens me,
I lie and keep looking at it.

2. Westward I ran,
Eager to see the sun house.
Ah! Divining plumes!
Together I saw them;
I saw them.

3. The gray wind blew me;
The gray wind blew me.
There, in the east, I fell down.
May I live long.

4. The wind moves slowly;
The wind moves slowly.
It twists my heart.
From the east it comes forth;
To the west it goes, taking me.

5. A little toad
Over there was sick.
Just there behind it
A little ant came out
And ran for the shaman.
Then it tried to sing;
Tried to make a cure
And whistle.

6. A white bird met me;
A white bird met me.
Inside a hill he met me.
A white feather tuft he was waving as he went.
Far away he met me.

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539A

7. The gray partner [Coyote] —
To the smooth ground brought me;
Then back to my house returned me.
Over the sky and the earth he took me;
And at the west he brought me out.

8. A little *kolowisi* serpent,
Lying at the water's edge,
Is hanging alone.
He is swinging to and fro,
Singing for the water.
A little *kolowisi* serpent.

The name of the Zuni feathered serpent, occurring in the last 756
song meant nothing to the dreamer, who declared that *kolowisi* 787
was a magic word, known only to him. Perhaps this gives some in- 154
dication of how memory and chance bits of information are all
enlisted by the Papago system in the service of the vision.

As his supernatural experiences grew more intense the dreamer 756
began to have some inkling of his future specialty. If he were to 787
be a rain shaman, he would dream of the frog and the spider, lovers of moisture. A future war shaman would dream of the owl. Sometimes a man specialized in only one of these functions, or so the tales say. The only shaman-prophets existing today are the rain prophets, and those whom the writer knew were diagnosticians as well.

Preparations often continued until middle life, and meantime 756
the future shaman kept his visions a secret. Nevertheless, he was acquiring paraphernalia and experimenting with the knowledge given him. Some shamans used herb medicines in addition to their sucking, and the writer's informant averred that he dreamed these one by one.

"But," he was asked, "suppose there were another would-be shaman, with dreams less powerful than yours, and suppose he wanted to learn from some older man. What might he have to pay?"

Without hesitation came the answer: "Twenty-five head of cattle."

Before making a public appearance, the shaman tested his skill

956 on a member of his family.[4] The shaman mentioned above cured his mother of a slight ailment and then requested other relatives to let him try. He was by this time a mature man, whose manner of life the people respected. When his kinsmen sang his praises, patients began to flock to him, "to use his power while it was new and strong."

SHAMAN'S EQUIPMENT

The years of preparation were also used in collecting paraphernalia. Although this was practically the same for every shaman, it was all done under direction of the spirits, who might order individual differences in detail which would give special power. The writer's shaman friend had to go to Mexico to purchase a gourd of the right size. Then, although he had seen hundreds of such gourds fitted with handles, he had to "dream" the process of fitting and gumming his own. Finally, he painted the gourd red and decorated it with small perforated patterns, referring to his vision.

The gourd rattle was held in the shaman's right hand, while his left grasped the divining plumes. These were the famous *mátcuita'k,* consisting of the two top feathers of an eagle's wings. The new shaman might have to go without them for some time, using instead a branch of greasewood, but since his visions preceded his actual practice by many years, he could generally obtain the valuable feathers before they were needed. To get them, he either killed an eagle himself or traded for plumes with some old man who had been guardian to an eagle killer. Rarely, there might be feathers already in the family.

The feathers had to be fitted with a handle, and for this purpose the shaman inserted a small stick in the quill end of each, cementing it with gum. The ends of the sticks projected some six inches beyond the quills, and they and the quills were wrapped with a [284] buckskin thong providing a long stiff stem by which the quills could be grasped. Occasionally a shaman's vision—or his opportunities—bade him use four feathers instead of two. Then the feathers were first tied in pairs, and afterwards the pairs were fastened together. 756

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[4] Compare the Mohave where, according to the writer's field information, the shamanistic novice *kills* a member of his family. Perhaps a franker version of the same idea.

The shaman's most precious possession was his crystal, which shed light "like your car lamps" on the seat of disease or the hiding place of an evil shaman. Generally, a shaman possessed not one, but the ceremonial number, four. According to legend, these flakes of quartz are the solidified saliva of I'itoi, who spat on the head of the first shaman so that saliva entered the man's heart. All shamans, supposedly, are able to keep their crystals in their hearts, and it is these which give their saliva its power if they blow it over a patient. [801] [823]

Theoretically, crystals were not obtained from outside, but grew within the shaman's body, "lots of them, like honey in a honeycomb." Their growth in the heart of a young girl has been mentioned, and the same informant recounted: "My brother was a shaman, but he had a bad wife who came to sleep with him while she was menstruating. That killed his crystals so that they rotted away, and another shaman, who looked into his heart, saw it like an empty honeycomb."(26)

However, the young shaman could easily find crystals by hunting over the rocky hills, where quartz fragments abound. Even this was done according to pattern.

> The eagle told me to go at sunset to a certain place and look for crystals. So I did, and in a little hollow I saw four of them lying, all together. I held out my hand, and they jumped into it. Then I held my hand before my mouth, and one by one they jumped down my throat.(16)

Asked to exhibit them, the informant objected: "I keep them in my heart. I never show them."

However, the writer succeeded in obtaining a set of crystals belonging to a defunct shaman, whose family feared their power. They were from one to two inches long, a quarter to half an inch thick and irregularly shaped. They were contained in a little fringed buckskin bag, dyed red and having a long string so that it could be worn around the neck. [415]

CURING PROCEDURE

755 A family who wanted the shaman's presence sent a messenger to put a little corn meal in his hand. If they planned to pay for his [201] services with a horse or a cow, they might send a bit of manure as a symbol. The shaman arrived after dark and seated himself beside the sick man with the eagle feathers in his left hand and the rattle in his right. A new shaman would not sit near the patient, but at some distance, moving forward gradually during the night of singing.

His songs were not meant to cure the patient, but to induce in himself a trance state in which he could see the cause of disease. They referred to visions of his own, experienced in such a state. All who wished might gather to hear the shaman sing, but it was his object to make his songs unintelligible so that none might share their power. He used a special kind of voice production, known as [195] *kuátkua,* a hoarse croaking, which made the words of his song unintelligible. Often he did not sing the words at all but merely the tune. Each shaman had a different technique in this respect, to which he always held. One singer, heard of by the writer, sang the song through twice without words, then twice with words.(26) Another, at every other repetition, began in the middle of the song.(16) Another always interpolated one repetition with intelligible words.(20) The rattle was moved horizontally when there were no words, and vertically with words.

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SONGS DREAMED BY A MODERN SHAMAN[a]

9. Do you see, my younger brother?
Now I sit down.
My gourd rattle I move in a circle;
Evening rushes out.
Yonder everywhere it sifts down.

Do you see, my younger brother?
Now I sit down.
My gourd rattle in a circle I move.
Morning rushes out.
Yonder everywhere it shines. (16)

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[a] See Pima songs, Russell, pp. 302–3.

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539x

10. There will be a flood;
There will be a flood.
Coyote, my partner,
Cut a reed
And lay within.
He raised up his head
And continually
Kept looking at the sky.(16)

11. *Haiya*, my comrade [Coyote],
Stole my songs;
In the sky he placed them.(16)

12. Over toward the north
Many mountains stand.
From within them a great serpent came forth,
Moving its head to and fro.(16)

13. A little gray horned toad
Came out across the darkness.
Right around he twisted,
Stretched out his neck
And told me Something.

14. A little red scalp shaman
At night and morning
Sings.
Inside the painted arrow,
It says it is a shaman.(16)

15. Far over there
I'itoi died.
Down upon the earth he came
And saw the reed.
Again he came and saw
Many girls, bearing flowers.(16)

SHAMAN'S SONGS (OLD)

16. Truly you treated me ill
My younger brothers;
Then I, a little way going,
Stood still.
To the sun I held out my hands; gently,

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x 539

I stood there.
Then a little earth in my closed hand I held,
Toward the sun throwing it.(20)

17. Two children
Tied up my head
And hung me upside down.
My poor wife
For four nights sought me, weeping.
Sun man!
Do something to heal me.(16)

18. Lo, it is I'itoi
Who comes to meet me.
No, not little I'itoi;
It is my comrade [Coyote]
With a golden headdress.
He comes to meet me.(20)

19. An earth crack;
An earth crack!
Out of it I'itoi comes.
To the sky he takes me.
Thus he makes me a shaman.
Surely he will make me a shaman;
What can you do to me?(20)

20. The sun was sinking;
In front of it
A rainbow came out crosswise.
Then I beneath it
Came running forth.(20)

21. At the shore of the river
The sun has just set.
I turn back.
Baboquiviri Mountain
Can no longer be seen.(16)

22. There will be a flood.
The water is roaring.
Then a duck girl came out.
She talked; she wept.

While around and around the white mountain 755
She went circling.(16) 539x

23. The lizard man, shaman,
To him you compare me,
To him who enters all the houses.
But let no one think of me at all.
It is this which will cure you.(20)

A species of large lizard is known as the house lizard because it infests houses. [825]

24. Coyote, my comrade,
Hither ran.
To the end of his tail
A cloud was tied.(26)

25. Coyote, my comrade,
Spit on the tips of his fingers.
He laid them on [the sick man]
"*Haiya*, sickness!
I don't know what you are!
Then I, having looked in vain,
Sit back."(26)

Among the songs describing shamanistic visions were quoted animal songs indistinguishable from those of the curing singers. A shaman averred, however, that such songs could be dreamed as well as any other and were as suitable for producing a trance. It seems possible that this was not always the case, but at least at present there is an overlapping of songs of the diagnostician and those of the curing singer. 755 727 533

26. Little black turtle 755
Toward Badger Well was crawling; 539x
Toward it, squint-eyed, he was looking.
Near him I stood,
And twisting up he looked at me.(26)

27. Little full-bodied turtle
All alone!
His wife ran away,

756 Yonder up Baboquiviri he climbs,
x539 Trying to look for her.(20)

[522] One comic song is included, dreamed by a modern shaman, who uses it in curing.

28. Tucson!
A wretched place.
Thither I went
And saw all the girls.
It made me dizzy to see [the things]
Stuck up on their heads [hats].(16)

755 After four songs had been sung in this manner, the shaman "cleansed" the patient by touching him with the eagle feathers from the head to the feet, thus dusting off the evil. Each shaman had special mannerisms in the handling of the eagle feathers, some shaking them direct at the patient, some waving them in the air before the cleansing. Doctors were famous on the reservation for these peculiarities.

After the cleansing, the shaman smoked. He might bring his own tobacco, or it might be supplied by the family. Some shamans blew smoke over the patient as is done in the surrounding areas. If he had a visible crystal, he then placed it on the ground before him. It cast a ray of light on the patient's body, showing the seat of disease or the presence of an intrusive object. The ray might not strike clearly for some time, and meantime the shaman fortified himself by singing and smoking. If enlightenment was slow in coming, he might go outside, hoping to fall into a trance and induce another vision. Such a trance is mentioned in the following song.

x[539]
29. On the desert, far off I lay;
On the desert, far off I lay.
In the deep night, there I learned.
Truly I shall turn into a bull.
Even now I learned it.(20)

At midnight the family of the patient provided food. By this time diagnosis was close, unless the case was very obstinate. The

shaman began to think about his pay and some introduced hints 755
into their songs. One is reported to have sung:

> Don't give me beads, [539]x
> I am not young and handsome.
> Give me a horse; a horse!

A horse or cow was the usual pay, and the family generally brought in a piece of manure to indicate what it would be. If diagnosis were difficult, the shaman might have to sing on other nights (four was the ritual number) before he earned his pay. [801]
Usually before dawn he announced what curing singer must be sent for, or else he himself sucked out the disease object. Some shamans did not suck, "because they did not have it in their dreams." They merely recommended that another shaman be called.

If the specialists he had recommended produced no result, a shaman would diagnose again, without further pay. He might thus recommend several curing singers in succession, and if all failed, the blame was not theirs, but his. That such happenings were not infrequent is evidenced by the Papago slang term for shaman, [192]
which is "liar."

THE FEMALE SHAMAN

The myths occasionally mention a female shaman who was 756
powerful and whose magic succeeded where that of her male col- 562
leagues had failed. In practice, the writer heard of but few female shamans, and these held a very subordinate position. Denied any connection with shamanism until after childbearing age, women often became herbalists[6] and then drifted into a limited shamanism by means of a vision or two. As with white women doctors, circumstances often pushed them into specializing in children's diseases.

One woman known to the writer practiced a peculiar form of 757
therapy which might have seemed her own idiosyncrasy had it not 171
turned out to be an ancient Aztec practice.[7] This was pressing on

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[6] See p. 90. [i.e., read p.300.-tm.]

[7] Sahagún, Seler, p. 366.

757 the palate of an infant. Pressure was supposed to close the fonta-
171 nelle, "because it was soft and it was making the child sick." The
Aztec woman held the child upside down for the same reason.

SORCERY [8]

754 If the shaman's diagnosis or his treatment failed, he was open to the charge of murder by sorcery. Such an idea was never far from the Papago mind, and the early Jesuits found it rampant.

> The whole country is given over to witchcraft. . . . Many fatal illnesses and sudden deaths are due to witchcraft. . . . Witches even kill each other.[9] In all the ranches or villages there have always been one or more sorcerers.[10]

[683] The result has been many a shaman clubbed to death or shot by a surreptitious arrow, with the consent and sometimes the thanks of the village authorities.

The San Xavier calendar stick [11] recording the events of eighty years mentions several such occurrences, generally as the result of an epidemic or drought. "They found it was an evil shaman who was causing the trouble, so they killed him." Shamans were suspected of burying fire in the earth, thus turning away the clouds, and preventing rain. They might swallow burning coals, spit out fire, and cause disease. They might put poison into a coyote, which would go mad and spread rabies. They might send darkness over a patient so that the crystal of the officiating shaman could not penetrate it and show the cause of disease. Or they might swallow the poison of a rattlesnake or gila monster and blow it over patients when they blew saliva, ostensibly as a cure.

No one could tell when a shaman's power might cause him to act in this way, for it happened sporadically and perhaps without his own volition. The change brought no material gain, for people ceased to employ him. Nor did he attain sovereignty over the souls of those he killed, like the Mohave shaman, or the help of evil spirits like the European witch. His power from his animal guardian remained what it had always been, but, perhaps because

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[8] Russell (p. 262) describes similar shaman sorcery among the Pima.

[9] Apostolicos afanes, pp. 238, 240. [10] Rudo ensayo, p. 171. [11] Underhill, 1938a.

of some ritual neglect on his part, it got out of control and his 754
character altered correspondingly.

Against sorcery there was no defense but the power of another 754
shaman. It was here that the "liar" came into his own and received 756
public recognition. Usually, his part in ceremonies was to sit silent and apart, waiting to prophesy the outcome. He might even be excluded on suspicion of being a sorcerer himself. But we have seen that in one rite, the cleansing ceremony, he had a prominent part, that of driving out possible danger from the year's meat and crops. When danger actually arrived, in the form of blight or epidemic, he was called on again.[12]

SENDING AWAY EVIL

In such a case, the shaman might repeat the cleansing ceremony, 789
as mentioned on p. 105, or he might perform a special exorcism, known as *d'ata,* literally the "sending away" of evil. Since this was a curing rite, scarcely separable from the witch fighting to be described below, it has been discussed as a function of shamanism rather than a communal ceremony. However, the shaman, in this case, had the assistance of a group of singers, as he did at the cleansing ceremony. They sat in a circle at the council house, singing to the accompaniment of the scraping stick. Their songs seem very like those used at the cleansing ceremony proper, but they were given by the same informants, who insisted there was a difference. Apparently in the vicissitudes which overtake song cycles these particular songs became specialized for one purpose.

SONGS FOR SENDING AWAY EVIL 789

1. The gray comrade [Coyote] 539^x
On his own legs is standing;
With his own mouth is barking.(20)

2. Over Komari'k Mountain
A black eagle is circling;
Yonder toward the west
He is shining brightly.(20)

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[12] For the same procedure among the Pima see Russell, p. 262.

An owl speaks.

789
x 539

3. An eagle bird
To a rock summit
My children took.
I long for them.
All night I hoot.(20)

4. A crooked black thousand-legs
Dizzily
Drag-runs, drag-runs, drag-runs
So it seems [bringing rain].(20)

From the origin myth.

5. The earth now verily
I shall erect and finish.
Upon it yonder, verily,
[Living beings] I shall cause to move.

The mountains now verily
I shall erect and finish.
Under them yonder, verily,
[Living beings] I shall cause to move.(4)

6. Under the east
A stone comes forth [shaman's crystal].
There it comes forth.
Morning arrives;
Then a stone comes forth. (27)

7. Yonder, at the foot of the east I came forth;
Yonder, at the foot of the west I arrived.
With my white stone, I came forth;
With my blue stone I arrived.(4)

8. The sun did not hasten to rise;
The sun did not hasten to rise,
On me to shine.
A shaman with his light
On me is shining.(20)

9. Up there upon the red ground there rises,
Up there upon the red ground there rises,

Up there, a mountain. 789
I like it. 539x
Up there it rises.(13)

10. Much eagle down spreading out;
Much eagle down spreading out.
Let him sing, let him sing, Elder Brother!
Slowly the clouds begin to come.(20)

Sometimes the epidemic or the blight was not full-fledged, but 789
merely a threat. In that case it was known to no one but the shaman. 754
He would warn the keeper of the smoke that some sorcerer had planted a charm near the village. This charm took various forms. It might be *tai* (fire), which would spread underground and shrivel the plants. It might be *hiwonyi* (a tube filled with sickness). To make such a thing, the evil shaman was supposed to take an eagle wing feather and cut off the tip of the quill, making it into a tube. Within he placed "something out of his heart" and buried it in the earth. It would ultimately swell like a seed and sprout, spreading sickness. If it could be pulled up before it had sprouted, danger would be averted. If it were allowed to sprout, the evil would have to be swept up with the thorny branch many times and perhaps unsuccessfully. Then the only remedy was to catch the sorcerer and kill him.

Sometimes a shaman "saw" with his crystal during the cleansing 755
ceremony that such a charm had been planted. Then the regular 789
songs of the ceremony were followed by the sending away songs. But premonition of evil might come to the shaman at any time of the year. Then he informed the keeper of the smoke, who sent for the singers and the ritual speaker. They sat in a circle, with an opening to the east, and sang the sending away songs.

All the songs quoted above could be used, but there were also some which referred definitely to the seeking of the evil charm.

11. Then I stand forth. 789
The crystal I hold up. 539x
It gives light, and I see.(13)

12. Evening falls.
Then I stand up.

729
x539

My enemy I see.
Hi ii't.

Am I not a shaman?
Then I arise and look.
Having looked upon the land,
I know.
Hi ii't. (13)

13. Something I am doing, doing.
Through the ground I shall keep boring;
This water I shall surely see.(13)

14. Foul, foul!
Here before me it is imbedded;
It is moving to and fro.(13)

789 During the singing the shaman, with his crystal, looked for the exact location of the evil charm. He saw it like a light in the distance and, taking a few helpers, went out to pull it up, while the men still sang in the council house to give him power.

He would have to stop frequently to locate the tube, and each time his helpers sang the driving away songs. Finally, he left his helpers and went alone to the burial place of the charm. Its "tail" stuck up above ground, and on this he pulled, while the charm wriggled frantically under the earth, pulling the shaman to and fro. In some legendary cases the shaman was pulled underground and never came back. But the strong shaman ultimately dragged out the charm. Several informants assured the writer that they had seen this process and seen the shaman faint with the effort.(33) After it was pulled up the charm was burned, and this burned the sorcerer's heart so that he died.

683 789 The sorcerer who failed to receive retribution in this way might very well be killed by public or private agency. His kin would not defend him. "They thought maybe those who killed him were right. Or they thought, if they tried to avenge him, the rival shaman who had accused him, would cast spells on them."(21)

766 The dead shaman, whether good or bad, was always placed in the oldest form of Papago grave, the small shelter built above ground, walled with stones and roofed with branches. Food and

weapons were placed with him, as with the other dead, but his 1766 shaman's paraphernalia were taken away, lest his ghost should use them harmfully. His family were equally afraid to destroy them and to keep them and therefore hid them somewhere in the hills, where "if their power came out it could do no harm." [13]

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[13] The practicing shaman is still an important member of Papago society, and informants reported seeing the "sending away" ceremony very recently.

13

HEALERS OTHER THAN THE SHAMAN

759 THE singers and herb doctors, now to be considered, did not aspire to the dread name "shaman." True, they were called in after diagnosis, and often it was they who performed the cure. Yet they received only the pay given a neighbor who helped with housebuilding or harvest—a meal and good will for the future. Meantime the shaman might receive a horse or a cow. Yet the shaman went in danger of his life, avoided and feared as a potential sorcerer. The singer, by his activities, brought blessing on himself and on any who helped him.

One would expect an antagonism between the shaman and these intruders in his field. Obviously, their presence would not have been possible had not the Papago admitted several explanations of disease, each carrying with it its own form of cure. Their variety pushed the shaman into the position of diagnostician, where he was able to favor or to ignore the specialists as his "dreams" dictated. Gossip said that the shaman sometimes arranged his diagnosis so as to "throw business" toward his friends, but most informants denied this. "A shaman *had* no friends. People feared him too [572] much."

FOR DISEASE CAUSED BY CEREMONIAL LAPSE

755 Probably the group of healers having least to do with the shaman was that of the ritualists who cured for ceremonial lapse.[1] Usually

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[1] Russell says nothing about ceremonial lapse and its cure with the Pima. Nevertheless, he gives instances of curing by both Navitcu (p. 266) and the *vitkita* singers or "North People" with their effigies (p. 328*n*).

the leader of a ceremony rendered this service, since he "owned" 755 the rituals. Illness was thought to have been caused by the ceremony itself, in punishment for some disrespect shown by participants or spectators. The remedy was to repeat the performance, or at least part of it, under correct conditions.

Thus the hunt chief could recite his speeches for one sick from the cleansing ceremony, or a headbearer might dance in deerhead disguise. An enemy slayer could go through his purification ritual for one suffering from touching enemy possessions or bewitched by the scalps. The requirements of the prayer-stick festival being particularly rigid, many ailments were ascribed to lapses at that time. In fact, such lapses were the shaman's last resort in cases of chronic rheumatism, since the mistake might have been so tiny as to have gone for years unremembered. If it was not of too long standing, a cure might be made by the impersonator of Navitcu, by a group of singers, or even by the little boys in snouted masks who started the song.[2]

FOR DISEASE SENT BY ANIMALS

A different group of singers dealt with diseases caused by animals. 753 Almost any creature could send an illness, from the tiny gray 825 spider to the mountain lion. Usually it was in punishment for some form of disrespect, since the animals, who fed and instructed the human race, were jealous of their prerogatives. They took vengeance on those who demolished their burrows or killed them with unnecessary cruelty. Also, they punished anyone who walked across their tracks, wasted their meat, threw their bones about, or subjected any of their remains to the presence of a menstruating woman. Finally, they were offended by laziness or by any conduct improper in the Papago code.

Each had a disease which it wielded as an instrument of vengeance. Though the symptoms were vaguely classified, they some-

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[2] The Pima, who do not have the prayer-stick festival, nevertheless use the Navitcu impersonation for curing. The impersonator, called by Russell a "Navitco medicine man," is accompanied by a chorus and by *kakspakam* (equivalent of Papago *kokcpatam*, the little snouted boys). They cure a swelling of the knees (rheumatism?) which is sent by "Navitco an evil spirit adopted from the Papagos." (Russell, p. 266.) [171]

753 times had a relation to traits in the animal. Thus, most coughs came
825 from the deer, "because he snorts and snuffles." Head lice were from the eagle, usually infested with them. Headache and dizziness were from the horse, "because you feel that way when he throws you." Certain animals were particularly common as avengers, the larger ones appearing oftenest. The writer, when staying in a Papago house, was once caught by her hostess swatting flies. She attempted to excuse the slaughter by explaining: "You know, we white people are peculiar. We think flies bring disease."

"Oh," replied the Papago, "we think disease comes from animals, too, but we wouldn't pick on anything so small as a fly. We'd think of big ones, like the badger or the deer."

787 The animals came unsought to their "meeters," giving, perhaps,
759 one song which could be used to evoke their good will.[2] Both men and women received these songs, and often those not otherwise given to dreaming managed this one contact with the supernatural. Said one woman:

> I was out in the desert one day and saw a horned toad looking at me. I knew he meant to say something, and I thought about it. That night, I waked up, and a song began to come to me. But I couldn't get it all. Next morning, I lay still and thought, and then I began to sing it. It was about the horned toad.
>
> For a long time nobody knew anything about it except that my family heard me singing. At last my mother was very sick. They had other singers and nothing had happened. My family asked me to try, but I was ashamed. At last I did, and she got well. Then other people asked me.(26)

752 One modern singer cures injuries resulting from falling off a
776 horse or being kicked by horses and cattle. Since these animals are
177 importations from the whites, his visitant is another white importation, the devil.

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[114] [2] Russell says nothing about singers of animal songs among the Pima, yet they must have existed. He gives a list of symptoms and procedures (pp. 262–65) very similar to the ones quoted here. Some of his medicine songs (pp. 312–14, 317, 319, 320–21) are obviously those given by animals. His statement is that these are a remedy for animal-sent disease, and, by inference, the singer is the shaman. However, in the case of the dog disease (p. 263) "someone who knows the dog song is called in to sing." Very likely, there were singers for the other songs also.

I once fell from a horse and was unconscious for twenty-four hours. 752
During that time, devils came to me. They were dressed like Mexicans 776
and had yellowish faces and mustaches. They were riding horses and 787
had a spare horse for me. We rode inside the mountain ranges and saw the gold and silver piled up there. They sang and I learned their songs. When I came to, I was singing them.

Now, every night as I fall asleep I hear them singing, far off. It is a new song, and I learn it as they approach. When they arrive, I know it, and we go off singing together. Sometimes I don't remember the song in the morning; often I do. I did not cure for a long time, but there was no one else who knew songs for the horse disease, so after awhile the people asked me to sing, and I did.

A woman informant said: 787

I have always dreamed since I was a child. I could have been a 759
shaman, but my father did not wish it. But many visitants kept coming to me: Coyote came, a black thousand-legs, and finally a spider.

I had been picking cactus once and was tired. I made a mound of earth to support my head and lay down to sleep. Before me, at the entrance of a hollow in the rock, a spider was spinning its thread. I said to it: Won't you fall? Then it sang me a song about itself.

1. Little gray spider shaman
At the cave entrance hanging!
"Do not think I shall fall,
I have two hands;
By them I am hanging."(26)

Years afterward, when I was a widow and younger women began to come and ask my advice about their children, I began using that song. I found I had great power.

The meeter was usually instructed by his visitant as to how to 787
obtain a fetish, which might be claw, tuft of hair, or peculiarly 759
shaped stone. Sometimes the meeter himself carved the visitant's 533
image out of wood. In curing, he waved the fetish over the patient or brushed away evil with it as the shaman brushed with his plumes. He also learned a song and the proper musical accompaniment with rattle or basket drum. Often, as has been said, such a song might differ, only in one word or note from another that

759 the meeter had heard. There was every opportunity for such adap-
787 tation, for curing songs were not secret, like shaman songs. The
533 performance itself was public, and half the village attended to help with the singing and gain a blessing. One boy of twelve, known to the writer, had already a large repertoire of curing songs and would have found little trouble in "dreaming" more.

Some meeters had only one dream and one song but usually, they went on to a whole series, which might involve several visitants. One(17) who supplied many of the songs quoted, was almost a full-time professional, with a song for every ailment. He had a list of symptoms for each disease, gained, he said, by observation of the people for whom he sang. In fact, every singer was able to give some such list. Some symptoms seemed to be so widely known that when they appeared no diagnostician was called for, but the curing singer came in immediately.

755 The singer was invited by having a little corn meal placed in
759 his hand. He came at sunset and sang or recited all night, with
533 a pause at midnight to eat. The one seen by the writer had no fetish, but after each song, he leaned toward the patient so that she could breathe from him. If several singers were present, they took turns, each singing his own songs, while the other singers and the audience helped.

The songs below are from several different singers, arranged so that all those referring to one animal are placed together. The statements of symptoms have been added for what interest they may have, and also the fetish and the musical accompaniment demanded by each singer.[4] The songs "were composed by the animals, telling of their habits, so that people would understand them and not cause annoyance." They might, therefore, be comic or disparaging, as well as poetic or realistic. They were never merely laudatory and never in the form of a prayer. But quite usually they began with the animal's name as a powerful form of invocation.

755 BADGER.—*Symptoms:* swelling, or boils on the neck. *Fetish:* a
753
778

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[4] Many of these details may have become standardized in the area, since Russell often quotes similar ones for the Pima (Russell, pp. 262–67).

skin of a badger paw stuffed with grass. *Musical instrument:* basket.(17) 755 778 753

2. There is a thundering going along [539]x
Above me it is going along.
I fear it.
I fear it.
Into my house I go.(20)

BUTTERFLY.—*Symptoms:* diarrhea and sleeping spells in children. *Fetish:* a painted butterfly made of cactus rib. *Musical instrument:* basket tapped with a knife.(17)

BUZZARD.—*Symptoms:* sores of children; results if a buzzard eats some of a hunter's kill while his wife is pregnant. *Fetish:* buzzard-wing feathers. *Musical instrument:* rattle (sometimes a dance in the formation of a girl's puberty dance).(17)

COW.—*Symptoms:* fever in infants, caused by a man tormenting a cow while his wife is pregnant. *Fetish:* a braided cowtail. *Musical instrument:* a basket rubbed with a knife.(20)

COYOTE.—*Symptoms:* itching. *Fetish:* coyote tail. *Musical instrument:* basket, tapped with hand.(17)

3. Dried cholla 755
Made into a coyote! 778
Yonder it ran to meet me, 753
Coyote-like, howling.(20) 539x

4. Our comrade [Coyote], thirsty,
Just yonder lay down to sleep.
Quail birds
Above him fluttered their wings.
Frightened, he jumped up,
And having looked everywhere:
"Haiya, God, my Father!
Let it rain *now!*"(20)

5. Little gray Coyote!
Indeed, a dirty girdle
You make for yourself, of snakes.(13) [a]

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[a] A duplicate of this song is found with the Pima (Russell, p. 304).

755
778
753
x539

6. Within the house of the bats
Bats flap their wings
Loudly.
The gray partner [Coyote]
Tries to see them.
He goes running around
And peeping in.(16)

7. Coyote, thirsty,
Ran out of his hole.
Up yonder, at Hackberry Well,
He was running about.
Around the water,
He was running about.
Very cautiously
He began to peep in.(13)

755 DEER.—*Symptoms:* cough (tuberculosis); attacks hunters who
778 gorge on deer fat, and the immediate remedy is to swallow ashes
753 from the campfire.(22) If the illness is serious, a deer must be killed and eaten without salt. Some placed the deer's head on a pile of sand facing the invalid,(16) or a hunter might take the head, hold it at arm's length, and dance, imitating the deer. Only a hunter can sing the songs, which are the regular deer-hunting cycle. *Fetish:* the deer tail, the basket drum, and the notched stick(17).

FROG.—*Symptoms:* sores on body. *Fetish:* wooden effigy. *Musical instrument:* basket rubbed with stick. (The frog, besides bringing and curing illness, may be invoked for rain.)

x[539]

8. Narrow Mountain upon
A big green frog was hopping.
On the summit a mist
Was lying.(31)

FLY.—*Symptoms:* no symptoms were given. When curing for the fly sickness, take an ember from the fire, rub it between the hands as a fly rubs its legs, chew the powder in the mouth, then put it on the sore. The embers must be black, not red.

755
778
753
[539]x

9. The fly children!
Their big hands!
Therewith they rub the embers.(20)

There is a small blue fly who brings rain. The children used to catch it, black its head with soot, say: "Go! Bring rain from my grandmother!"

Deer speaks.

[539]x

10. The little blue rain fly
Huddled close to my horn tip
is hanging.
Greatly shall I be annoyed.(20)

GILA MONSTER.—*Symptoms:* sore feet; sometimes sores all over, from stepping on the animal. Nursing mothers may lose their milk if he crosses their path. The best remedy is to catch the gila monster, tie a red rag around its neck, and send it away, taking the evil with it. Otherwise the *fetish* is an effigy carved from cactus rib, with red cloth around its neck.(26)

755
778
753
539x

11. A lizard maiden
Was thirsty and crying.
A gila monster ran up
And was comforting her.
The lizard stopped, and then
The gila monster carried her off
And took her to wife.

12. Down I sit;
Songs I begin.
Down I sit;
Songs I begin.
Here around me
All the earth shakes(22).

755
753
778

GOPHER.—*Symptoms:* menstrual cramps, suffered by women who have sat on a gopher hill "and been married by a gopher." *Fetish:* stuffed gopher skin or the image made of clay from a gopher hill. *Musical instrument:* basket tapped with a stick.(17)

778
755
x753
[539]

13. The sun is setting;
The land is growing dark.
In all directions [darkness] keeps spreading,
There songs are sounding;
I shall learn and shall sing.(20)

HORSE.—*Symptoms:* insanity. A white man's disease from a [828] white man's animal. The visitant who gives songs to cure it is 755 another white man's importation, the devil.[a] No fetish or instru- 753 ment. The content of these songs, which have very little to do with the devil, is an example of the stereotyped sort of thing which was quite permissible in original "dreamed" material.

753
755
x539

14. Poor little me!
Around me gather the people.
A devil they think me.
Something the devils make me do.
I mount my horse,
I am going.
I am running about.(12)

15. Far yonder was I running, running.
Far yonder on Cactus Mountains
Was I running.
Thence I saw Mamakumat Mountains.
On them was I running, circling.
Thence I saw Ajo Mountain
On it I was running, somersaulting.
Ceaselessly running!
Devilishly playing!(12)

16. The Hot Springs
Which lie this way,
To them I came.
Thence I saw Twisted Neck Mountain;
Stretching far, I saw it.(12)

17. To a far land I ran.
Oh, it is little devil children!

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[a] The Papago word for devil is some approximation to the Spanish *diablo*, usually *djiaul*, or *nyiaul*. The Pima speak of "Nyavolt, an evil spirit, causing a horse to throw his rider" Russell, p. 265. Songs similar to those below are quoted on pp. 329-30.

There they met me. 753
They took me. 755
And westward they led me, 539x
Trying to tell me something.
I could not learn it;
I could not learn it.
They left me.
Then I ran back,
Trying to understand.(12)

18. Now, here I have finished;
Yonder I have been running about,
Yonder, in my old haunt,
A devil is tied.
Thither I ran, and by the ear I took him.
I blindfolded him; he snorted
And blew upon my heart.(12)

HORNED TOAD.—*Symptoms:* sores on feet from stepping on a toad. *Fetish:* wooden image or live toad. After the singing the live toad may be set free with something red tied around its neck as an offering.[7] *Musical instrument:* basket rubbed with a stick.(17 and 25) 753 755 778

19. A little gray horned toad shaman [539]x
Lost his wife;
All over the earth he ran,
Sorrowing.(26)

20. The red ants
Are throwing darkness toward me;
I fear it.
Four times sideways I tilt,
And in yonder direction I run.

OWL.—*Symptoms:* sleepiness and dizziness: "heart-shaking." *Fetish:* tuft of the down from under the owl's wing. *Musical instrument:* basket tapped with a stick. Some said the owl is the only

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[7] *Cf.* the Isleta custom of tying a piece of yarn around the horned toad's neck and telling it to "go make a manta." Parsons, 1929-30, p. 211n. Also Parsons 1929 p. 196n.

778

753 sickness for which a woman may sing.[a] "The songs are easy; the 755 others songs would make her insane."(25, 26)

The owl speaks.

x[539]

21. Just before me
The evening is growing red.
I fly out, and four times
I hoot.(20)

QUAIL.—*Symptoms:* sore eyes. *Fetish:* the quail's top-knot. *Musical instrument:* scratching stick and rasp.(17, 25)

x[539]

22. Quail children under the bushes
Were chattering.
The comrade [Coyote] heard them.
He ran up, pattering softly,
And stood wiggling his ears in all directions.(20)

RABBIT.—*Symptoms:* convulsions in children, caused by the father killing a rabbit during his wife's pregnancy. *Fetish:* rabbit tail. *Musical instrument:* basket and scraping stick.(25, 26)

x[539]

23. The sun sets;
The flat land is black.
Here, at the tips of my ears
A narrow [strip of] darkness lies.

ROAD RUNNER.—(chaparral cock) *Symptoms:* sharp pains in the stomach. *Fetish:* a sharp ironwood stick (because the pains are sharp)—.(20) No song recorded.

SNAKE.—*Symptoms:* pain in the abdomen (which seems to twist and wiggle like a snake). Caused, not by snake bite, but by stepping over a snake's track. *Fetish:* a snake carved from a crooked greasewood branch. *Musical instrument:* basket, tapped with a knife.(17)

x[539]

24. Crazy children
Threw dust in my eyes.
I want to do something for myself.
Four times I breathe deeply.(20)

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[a] One who "meets" the owl may also commune with the dead who take owl form. This permits of curing sicknesses caused by the dead. Miss Densmore quotes several songs of this sort. Densmore, pp. 114-34.

TURTLE.—*Symptoms:* sores on the feet. *Fetish:* a rattle in turtle shape with marking on one side. *Musical instrument:* same as fetish.(25 and 26) 778 753 765 539^

25. A little black turtle,
Just yonder at Pitcikin,
Got drunk.
The girls he ogled.
Trying to talk Mexican,
Trying to talk American.
"See how bright I am!"
Said the turtle.(31)

26. Little black turtle,
Little shaman,
Over there goes crawling, crawling, crawling,
Over there goes crawling.(31)

27. A little black turtle
Toward Badger Well was crawling;
Toward it, squint-eyed, he was looking.
He stood near me,
And twisting up, he looked at me.(26)

28. Little full-bodied turtle,
All alone!
His wife ran away,
Yonder, up Baboquiviri, he climbs,
Trying to look for her.
But he did not find her.
So he fell down and died.(20)

A war song by the turtle when he followed a war party and outstripped them all in valor. *Haiyu* is turtle language. The turtle's bravery is due to his thick back. He can't be killed.

29. *Haiyu, haiyu, haiyu!*
Upon the green rock
A green eagle descended.
Haiyu, haiyu, haiyu, haiyu, haiyu!

Not only animals caused sickness, but plants, winds and undefined mythical beings. A very common one was *pihuri*, spoken 753 776

753 776 of as a little old blind man with red-rimmed eyes. He passed people on the road, and the wind blowing from him to them caused trachoma and other eye troubles. A whole series of songs describes *pihuri's* personal habits. No fetish is used. The musical instrument is an especially stout scraping stick of cactus rib with very fine notches.

753 x776 x539

Pihuri is a great gambler.

30. Am I not *pihuri, pihuri, pihuri!*
Lo, the playing cards painted;
I like them!
They are like a magnet [to draw winnings].

Pihuri is so old that he even pounds up fresh deer meat before cooking, so that he can chew it.

31. Lo, it is Badger shaman!
At night he runs.
Deer meat he brings.
Lo, it is *pihuri*, the little old man!
The meat he is pounding.(20)

Pihuri has a good metate, which all the girls like to use. Now pihuri has a protégé sleeping in the house, and the girls are afraid of him, so grinding is heard in all the other houses, except pihuri's.

32. Lo, I am *pihuri's* little familiar.
I lie in the house.
That is what you [girls] are afraid of.
Are you afraid of me
Around me in all [the houses]
There is the sound of grinding.
In all [the houses]
There is the sound of grinding.(20)

776 824 [171] Some informants thought that *pihuri* was a plant which took human form. It is supposed to be an intoxicant, and there is some mysterious connection between it and the deer. The Pima are said to consider it a tree growing in Mexico.[*] These scraps of information suggest a connection between *pihuri* and the Huichol *hikuli*, peyote. It is possible that they represent a few vague rumors as

[*] Russell, p. 79. Russell also speaks of "Piholt" as an evil spirit (p. 265).

to the Mexican plant. Two songs illustrate this aspect of *pihuri,* 776
though they are used for curing sore eyes, just as are the others. 824

33. The deer is drunk; 776
The deer is drunk. 824
Around the great mountain he runs.(20) 755

34. There is the sotol blossom fallen down; 539x
Toward it I run.
It fell on the leaves of the *pihuri,*
And I run toward it.
It will make us drunk.
In a circle we shall go singing.

There is the sotol blossom fallen down;
Toward it I run.
It fell on the leaves of the *pihuri,*
And I run toward it.
It will make us dizzy.
In a row we shall go singing.(20)

Two other plants take human form and cause hallucinations. One is *Datura meteloides* (jimson weed). The song for it is:

35. Here you brought me to the liquor.
It was very good.
I was very drunk.
Hither you brought me,
And an eagledown headdress you made me.(20)

The other plant is the unidentified *tcïnacat,*[10] which has here been called lizard weed. For this no song was obtained.

It is possible for sickness to come from almost any phenomenon 753
in nature, depending, perhaps, on the imagination of the shaman. 755
Such illnesses are rare, and the only one mentioned was from the whirlwind. *Symptom:* dizziness. *Musical instrument:* basket and scraping stick.

36. A little gray whirlwind [539]x
Is trying to catch me.
Across my path
It keeps whirling.

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[10] See the Pima song (Russell, p. 229), where the word is spelled *TCU-Unarsat.*

776 The most dangerous of all mythical beings were the scalps, the 753 "prisoners"[11] who lived inside a warrior's scalp basket. These might plague their owner's family, his visitors, and even the warrior himself, if he had neglected them. They emerged from their basket in the form of little men, very dirty and fierce, in Apache dress. They peeped through the door at the sufferer, twitched his blanket, and tickled him. If he were their owner, and they had not been fed, they might ask for food or offerings. If he were a visitor in the house, they would frighten him by whistling and swinging to and fro in the basket.

Women suffered more seriously. All lovesickness and sexual malaise were attributed to the scalp mannikins, who were thought to caress women in their sleep and even have intercourse with them. If a man had hallucinations that his wife was unfaithful, 776 it was due to the same cause. The remedy for this was not the 755 war purification songs, but a special set of scalp mannikin songs, dealing with their sexual aspect. These songs were the property 424 of enemy slayers, but in recent years have been learned by others. x539

SCALP MANNIKIN SONGS

The scalp mannikin sings.

37. "Under the sun's rain house I stood;
My blossoms I strewed and ran."(31)

38. A scalp meeter girl
Comes here,
With lovely flowers;
The scalp children,
Yonder, ran out
All covered with flowers.(20)

39. What did you do to me?
You made a scalp basket.
Lo, you made a house for me,
Thus doing;
Within it you wrapped me.
The sun set,
Then I came out.(20)

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[11] Cf. the Pima *tcuñyim*, "an evil spirit exorcised by a strand of Apache hair" (Russell, p. 263). However, *tcumyim* is the word for smoking and may refer to purification. One song quoted (p. 325) is classed as *kokpU,* which means prisoners.

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40. Red Mountain
Toward the east came forth,
Slowly growing tall.
Then I beneath it
Draw close.(20)

41. Black Mountain
Within the water stands.
Under it monsters shriek.
The water echoes.(20)

42. Under the sunset
A mountain stands.
Under the sunset
A mountain stands.

Toward it we run;
Toward it we run and sing.
Our rattles we are shaking.(20)

43. Revolving,
A rain house stands,
Within it black liquor
I drank.
Many scalp-men
With me drank.
"You are my elder brother!"
Thus they said,
And yonder staggering
Went running.(20)

44. *Haiya, haiya,*
My younger brothers!
Haiya, haiya,
My younger brothers!
The sun above us
Is moving.
Haiya, haiya!
Under it my heart is being destroyed.
What shall I do to you,
My younger brother?(20)

45. Sick from the scalps!
Sick from the scalps!

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[534]

I can do nothing
There; before me he is groaning.
The scalp songs cast light.
Therewith it is ended.(20)

753 755 Lovesickness in men might also be due to the scalp mannikins and might be cured by the scalp songs. But it was more often attributed to the light women who filled the role of courtesans or [792] prostitutes. As a fetish a little clay figure of a woman was made, or of a man and a woman. The curing songs were the songs of the light women which were sung at the drinking festival. One was quoted as being used especially for lovesickness. It was sung without musical accompaniment, by anyone who knew it.

Addressed by a man to the light woman who takes him to dance.

46. Women surround me.
Yonder songs are sounding;
Toward them they lead me.
Yonder songs are sounding;
Toward them they lead me.(31)

47. Yonder toward the west I run;
Running, I sing.
A man I see who is carrying a woman.
He takes me with him.
My heart glows blazing.(31)

753 756 Eagle and salt sicknesses were less common. The eagle sickness generally showed itself in nosebleed or in lice. It resulted from the breaking of a taboo connected with eagle killing and could be cured only by an eagle killer, using his tuft of down as a fetish.[12]

THE HERB DOCTOR

759 In addition to the singers, we should list one practitioner who had not necessarily any connection with the supernatural. This was the herb doctor. In one sense, every housewife in Papagueria was a herb doctor for as a by-product of her food gathering she

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[12] A similar treatment among the Pima is indicated by Russell, pp. 263 (eagle and hawk), 289, 333.

collected and kept on hand such simple remedies as greasewood 759
for colds and a leaf called "buzzard's mother" for infant diarrhea.
Women exchanged lore about these old wives' remedies among
themselves and rarely called in an outside practitioner until disease
grew serious. Some rarer and much-desired herbs had to be
brought from Mexico or from Mt. Baboquiviri, where running
water produced an exotic tropical vegetation. There were men
and even women who made a living out of picking and drying [278]
such herbs and then peddling them around the country. Such
"doctors" even prescribed on occasion, as a modern pharmacist
might do if the malady were a simple one. Their trade, however,
was in the same class as food peddling and involved no vision.
When serious illness was in question, the patient called a shaman.[18]

This legitimate practitioner, however, might supplement his 759
blowing and sucking by an herbal remedy, "if he saw it in his 177
dream."(4) Today this practice is gaining more and more hold. 278
A shaman of the writer's acquaintance frequently "saw" herbal
laxatives—even quinine and aspirin—obtained from the government
hospital. Though the directions which he followed might
have been read to him from the bottle, he explained that he later
dreamed them all over again, thus making them valid for *his*
patients.

Curing singers of all sorts still do a thriving business on the 759
reservation, as do herb doctors. Among them, there are govern- 755
ment school products and church members. They seem to be employed
by all classes of Papago, even when the government doctor
and hospital are also used.

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[18] For Pima herb doctors see Russell, p. 257.

[p. 302 is blank]

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PART FIVE

ACCULTURATION

[p.303]

[p.304 is blank]

14

MODERN CEREMONIAL LIFE

x796 533 THE Papago flair for song composition is still fully alive. In 1931 and 1933 there were given at Santa Rosa two performances with effigies and dance movements supervised by the local keeper of the smoke. It was a variant of the old custom of dreaming a series of songs with appropriate paraphernalia for the skipping dance. But in this case the effigies were large and elaborate like those for the prayer-stick festival and, instead of being carried in procession, were so used as to amount to a stage setting.

CEREMONY FOR POWER

x796 The purpose of the ceremony was, not to provide entertainment, but to get power. Santa Rosa has been a stronghold of old customs, and it was felt that its orthodoxy was being undermined. Therefore people dreamed less, and prosperity was failing. One [952] shaman who attended the dance said that he expected to get from it power to cure automobile accidents, which had been hitherto entirely outside his sphere.

787 The whole dance was dreamed by the keeper of the smoke, a man of ninety. In 1930 he had a severe illness, and when he achieved the state of semi-consciousness propitious for dreams, had the following vision.

787 177 He was taken to a great city in the East "with high stone walls like canyons." He met a ceremonial clown and asked how he came there. The clown said: "People from this eastern land took my picture and

787 carried it with them to the ocean, so I was drawn after it." The clown
then offered to lead the old man home again to Santa Rosa. He
177 moved under the earth, as a ceremonial clown always does, guiding
the man above by his singing.

He led the smoke keeper, not to his home, but to the shrine outside the village, where four children were once sacrificed to prevent a flood. The children came out singing, and they and the clown led the old man through all the familiar sites of legendary Papagueria. They went to Superstition Mountain, where a group of people was turned to stone in the legendary flood. They crossed water, as did Elder Brother and his conquering army. At last they came to the "Earth Navel." It was in the shape of a thatched council house, hung with all the implements of ancient Papago life. There were upon it bows and arrows, masks for singers in the prayer-stick festival, and rain symbols. Above these was a tall pole, painted red, white, and blue. The clown said to the old man: "See, the white men are correct; the earth moves," and as he looked the house with its pole began to revolve. Then the clown bade him: "Look at all these things that our people used to use. Think about them and tell the people also to look and think once more. After that, if they wish to abandon them and take up White ways, let them do so."

Then the flood children went singing home, and the old man followed.

787 On the basis of this story, the old man composed a series of
x796 songs, which (after the manner of the songs in the origin myth)
533 refer to the crises in the story rather than explain them. He had
778 huge effigies made by the villagers, representing the children's
shrine, Superstition Mountain, and the earth navel. These were decorated with birds and animals in clay, wood, and oilcloth and with all the paraphernalia he had seen in his dream. They were placed on the dance ground some thirty feet apart and acted as a stage setting.

x796 The old man taught his songs to the scraping-stick musicians
533 and to all other men in the village who wished to learn, as well
as a number of the older women. For this purpose they gathered nightly in the council house for a month. He told the singers the dream on which the songs were based, but no one else knew unless some singer explained to him. The old man then selected ten

girls and ten boys as dancers and instructed them in dance movements of his own arrangement. 796x 533

On the day of the dance, the people gathered early to look at the effigies, breathe in from them, and then run their hands down their bodies acquiring power. The composer then made a speech in the customary low voice of ceremonial oratory. The speech did not give the narrative of the "opera," but urged the people to follow the old customs, to celebrate the rainmaking feast, the girl's puberty dance, and the prayer-stick festival in order that they might have rain and crops.

The dance opened with the appearance of the clown. One of the hereditary holders of this function appeared at a distance, coming from the north, which is the home of Navitcu. He wore his regular costume, paint, and mask, carried in his right hand the clown's crooked bow and in his left an arrow and the traditional cactus stick. The latter he stuck in the ground near the council house during the ceremony.

The twenty boy and girl dancers ran from the council house to meet him, in costumes reminiscent of the cleansing ceremony. The boys wore the usual kilt made of any available material (in this case a woman's skirt) and were barefoot. Their bodies were painted white, except for the face, which was white with red dots. Decoration was achieved by colored ribbons around wrists and ankles, and colored headbands on the hair. The girls wore modern dress, but they were barefoot, and the visible parts of their bodies were painted like the boys. They were chosen, as in the old days, for long, glossy hair. Every dancer held in the right hand an ear of corn, topped with an eagle-wing feather, in the left a stick on whose tip was a bunch of cotton to simulate clouds.

Music was provided by seven men with sticks and basket drums and three with gourds, all with colored headbands and hands painted white. Behind them sat all the men and women who knew the songs. Each song was sung eight times, the gourds being used all the time. The sticks were thumped on the baskets for the first two repetitions, rubbed for the next two, and so on alternately. During the thumping the dancers held their fetishes high and stamped, while the clown leaped. During the rubbing all x 796 533 rested: the dancers flexed their knees, with fetishes low, and the clown walked.

x 796 535 The general plan of the dance was a circling and stamping around each effigy in succession. The dancers circled it during the first two songs, the girls moving clockwise, the boys in a circle outside them, counterclockwise. Then they stood around it, their movements violent or subdued according to the music. When the time for violent movements arrived at the effigy of Superstition Mountain, the boy dancers raised it as the songs of the shaman raised it during the legendary flood. At the earth navel effigy they raised the thatched house and revolved it as the earth was declared to revolve in the song.

x 796 x 539

SONGS OF THE CEREMONY FOR POWER (13)

1. The maidens of old time
Here are lying.
The corn they cause to stand [above them].
Then we, having seen,
Thither run.

Led by the clown, the boys and girls emerge from the council house in couples and circle the effigy of the Children's Shrine.

2. Here the children's grave
Now is made.
On it pleasant things
Will be done.
Cloudlike, the children of old time
Will run out.

3. Eagle feathers we pull out;
Eagle headdresses we erect.
Eagle down we pull out;
Feather headdresses we erect.

4. Did not you treat me ill?
There in the water
Between four mountains
You placed me.

796^A
539^x

5. Gray clown shaman!
Down there under the north,
Over there in front of the east,
My picture is lying.
This I had not known,
And to the north I ran.

6. The children of old time,
Yonder from far away,
Circle round me.

Ancient Superstition Mountain stands.
On it the children of old time
Speak, as it were, in singing.

Dancers circle the effigy of Superstition Mountain.

7. Ancient Superstition Mountain stands aloft.
Up there the children of old time run out;
Up there eagle feathers are lying.

Ancient Superstition Mountain stands aloft.
Up there the children of old time run out;
Up there eagle down is lying.

8. The water of old time
Approaches me.
Ancient Superstition Mountain yonder stands.
Before it the water is swelling [the flood is increasing].

Boy dancers raise the mountain effigy.

9. The earth now is made.
On it the mountains are made.
On it is ancient Superstition Mountain;
Before it the water is swelling.

10. Yonder Red River lies.
Blue River yonder lies.
Then I am crossing them:
There, behind, is the earth navel.

Dancers cross the lines marked on the dance ground with red and blue gravel to represent rivers.

x796
x539

11. Are you going to lead me far?
Upon the earth navel,
Just there, you place me.

Dancers circle the earth navel effigy.

12. Yonder, far, to the earth navel
You brought me.
Yonder things are done
Worthy to be seen.

Dancers range themselves around the earth navel, clown at north.

13. Yonder the earth navel!
To it you brought me.
Within it a pole stands,
Sunwise turning.

The effigy of the earth navel is picked up and revolved.

14. Here, there, and everywhere
You led me.
Yonder the earth navel
Around is turning.

15. Yonder eagle songs are spread out;
Yonder straight toward the children's grave
You lead me.
Within it you take me;
Within it songs are spread out.

Dancers set down the effigy and circle slowly.

16. The children of old time
End their songs,
Yonder homeward they run.
Within the children's grave
They murmur.
Then we listen,
And we run homeward.

At the end of the song, dancers enter the council house.

MODERN SONG CYCLE

There are still many song dreamers, young as well as old. Many 533
songs consist merely of variations on the standard poetic phrases, 727
but a few deal with the entirely new background introduced by
the whites. One composer has a modern guardian spirit, the devil. [776]
This visitant, as has been mentioned, cures diseases due to those [177]
white man's importations, the horse and the cow. He has also, in
nightly wanderings, sung to his protégé songs concerning railroads
and telegraph wires.

In some of these the words are placed with excellent onomatopoetic effect. 533 The custom of using extra vocables is a great opportunity for the introduction of appropriate sounds, and this has been done in line three, where the regular bumping of a train over the rails is imitated. In the last line the syllable *amo* has been added to two words as the train disappears trailing smoke. [522] The humor may need explanation. That anything so sacred as a cloud hangs over the iron wagon makes it seem, at first, divine. Then the error is dissipated.

THE APPROACHING TRAIN 533
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17. The iron wagon hither runs.
The iron wagon hither runs.
Over it a cloud is lying.
Oh! It's only the smoke.(12)

RAILS

18. Yonder far I ran,
Walked and ran.
Iron stretched out.
Then I beside it ran.
Nowhere did it end.
It stretched out.(12)

In this song the diphthong *au*, in the words meaning "to stretch," is lengthened and emphasized with realistic stretching effect.

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*539

TELEGRAPH WIRES

19. Westward is an iron road
Above it iron stretches;
Humming, it stretches.(12)

DISTANT TRAIN

20. Telmot Mountain!
Telmot Mountain!
Up there, on the edge I lie,
Everywhere looking.
Far yonder, toward me,
A burning feather headdress
Upon me shines.(12)

THE BLENDING WITH CHRISTIANITY

177 794 Ever since the late seventeenth century, there have been Papago who were properly baptized Roman Catholics. Yet there was never a church in desert country until after the arrival of American priests in 1909. For over two hundred years, then, the contacts of the Desert People with organized Christianity have been intermittent and mostly of their own choosing. The result is some versions of Catholic ceremony which are of their own devising, but are cherished to this day.

797 The first baptisms in Papago country were made by Father Kino, the famous Jesuit missionary who labored among the Pimans from 1687 to 1711. Kino established a string of missions in what is now Sonora, with only two north of the present international border. These were San Gabriel, at the village of Guevavi (later moved to Tumacacori), and San Xavier, at the village of Bac (Papago, *wahk*, the hollow place). Their site, in the fertile valley of the Santa Cruz, is now occupied by Tucson and other towns. It was then the home of the Soba Jipuri, a branch of the Pimans which has become almost extinct.[1] Kino was particularly impressed with the agriculturists of this valley, and he stocked their missions well with grain and cattle. Probably, too, he gave them the standard organization for a mission church, with native sac-

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[1] Underhill, 1939. pp. 15-17.

ristans and "fiscales," or collectors of tithes. Some of this organization persists at San Xavier to the present day. 797

None of this achievement had much to do with the Papago of this study, who lived in the remote desert, outside Kino's usual orbit. Nevertheless, it was probably due to him that certain features of Catholic ritual took firm root in Papago culture and went on developing even when missionary influence was removed. One of these was baptism with a Spanish name. Kino reports how he made flying trips through the desert and how its savage inhabitants came as far as a hundred leagues to be baptized.[2] One can hardly believe, in view of later reports, that their eagerness came from any understanding of the Christian rite. But naming by a shaman was already a well-known source of power. It seems probable that the Desert People were anxious to add power from a white shaman to what they already had. [778]

This attitude continued. Over the centuries the Papago made a habit of adding Spanish names to their own whenever possible, and they even made long journeys to Mexico to obtain them with the proper ceremony. These trips to Mexico were another institution which may very well stem from Kino's time. The missionary found he was unable to give proper instruction to Indians during his hasty passage through their villages. He made a habit of inviting selected younger ones to spend a winter in his Sonora missions for indoctrination. The Indians were willing to go, for they had always been travelers. The barrenness of their country made it impossible to stay in any one place for the whole year, and they often spent the winter in the river valleys of Mexico merely to keep from starvation. The visit to a Mexican church, instituted by Kino, grew into a cult, as will appear later. [424]

Kino's string of missions lasted until 1767, when the Jesuits were expelled from the New World. During their later years there had been no further attempts to evangelize the Desert People, and any visits the Papago chose to make had been purely on their own initiative. The same situation continued when the Franciscans took over, in 1769. Now, however, the center of church activity moved a little nearer the Papago, for the Franciscans gave

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[2] Bolton, 1919, 161.

797 up the Sonora missions, owing to poverty and the Apache raids. They concentrated on the two just above the Arizona border, Tumacacori and Bac.

797 These big irrigated villages had been, so far, occupied by the
794 Soba Jipuri, a people of somewhat different culture from the Papago, though of Piman speech.[3] There is no telling how much contact there had been, for these valleys were well within reach of the roving Papago. Now, during the late eighteenth century, the Apache raids grew more menacing; the Soba Jipuri villages broke up, and the Papago, who had less to lose, seeped in to occupy the land. Finally a smallpox epidemic practically wiped out the Soba Jipuri, and Bac, with its Franciscan church of San Xavier, became a village of the northern Papago.

794 At last the Desert People had a chance for continuous church membership, though Bac was not in their own country and most of them only stayed there for part of the year. Some took part in the church organization, and even today they install church officers at New Year's with the ancient ceremony first established in New Spain. When the Franciscans, too, left the missions, during the Mexican war of independence (1821–23), the Papago saved the church vessels and the holy images by burying them in the desert, just as they did with their own metates when they moved camp. They still tell legends of how the images called to them from underground when it was time to recover them.

794 Even the Papago inhabitants of Bac went back to the desert
177 for part of the year, and they still retain their village affiliations
484 with Archie and Akchin. The other Papago remained aloof from the churches, merely making their occasional trips "to get names." For this purpose they often chose Mexico, rather than the nearer Bac, for they could combine the journey with a winter of paid work for Mexicans or acculturated Indians. Kino's plans for in-
794 doctrination had not worked out, but the Papago did begin to
177 acquire some fragments of Christian ritual in the course of their
visits. Living in some household of Hispanicized Indians, they 3
could learn a few prayers, hear saint stories, and acquire a crucifix without any of the attendant discipline. The crucifix early

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[3] See Underhill, 1939, pp. 15–17.

The crucifix early [778]
achieved status as a fetish, and the writer has known shamans to 794
prescribe it. The same is true of prayers. In a case of epilepsy, 177
which was, perhaps, an unfamiliar disease, the diagnostician did
not call for guardian spirit songs in the usual manner, but, instead,
ordered the women to sing the Rosary.

There was little attempt to reconcile the Papago and Christian 182
theologies, although some very modern Papago now speak of 779
I'itoi as the Papago Christ. The important supernatural adopted 177
from the new religion was the devil. One remembers the position 776
of this character in Spanish folklore, where he often appears,
not as a dignified arch fiend, but as a coyote-like character who
is always being worsted. The *tciaur* (Spanish, *diablo*) as described
by the Papago, is a being of this type, gay, silly, and even kindly.
He is not unlike the Papago guardian spirit, nor is he foreign to
the scalp mannikins, dirty and mischievous little spirits who drive
people mad with love.

We hear echoes of the scalp mannikins in the plaint of one girl 177
who had been married to the devil in a dream. "Do not sing for 787
me," she said to the people who came to cure her. "Only those 776
can be free of the devil who wish to be free, and I have been married
a long time." She described her supernatural spouse as old
and bearded, dressed in white man's clothes and owning a car.
Nightly he took her in it through the mountains and showed her
the piles of unmined gold and silver. Her obsession has reminders
of the scalp mannikin legend and also of the snake, who marries
young people, making them neglectful of human love. A gayer
vision of the devil was that of a young man who danced nightly
on the mountains with devil boys and devil girls.

To another, the devil came quite in the guise of a guardian spirit. He looked "like a Mexican, with yellow face and black moustaches."(12) He appeared riding a horse, at the head of a cavalcade of devils, all singing. This arrival, announced by a song, is typical of the guardian spirits. Commonly the song is used for curing a disease sent by the spirit itself. In this case the song cured ailments of horses or the "horse disease" in humans. The linking of the white man's animal with the white man's supernatural seems very logical. Perhaps, had the Papago been left un-

177 776 disturbed, the devil might have developed into a guardian spirit 787 in good standing.

788 There were some more organized versions of Christian belief. One of these grew up among the northern Papago, who had retained their tradition of a yearly pilgrimage to Mexico. In fact, their goal was Kino's old headquarters, the church at Magdalena, in the Altar valley. Gradually the visit there became formalized, so that instead of a winter sojourn by individuals or families, it [484] was a pilgrimage of several weeks, made by half the population of a village. The Franciscan priests who today control the missions believe that the custom may have had its roots in Jesuit times. Otherwise, why do the pilgrims always bring home the picture of St. Francis Xavier, patron of Jesuit missionaries? The Franciscans suggest that, had they instituted the custom, they would naturally have used the picture of their own patron, St. Francis of Assisi.

The journey as an institution lapsed some years ago, when a Mexican revolution closed the churches. Until then it had been one of the great events of the year for the northern villages. This is how one participant described it, in the days when the journey was made by wagon.

> Everyone who can sell a cow and get money goes. There are about a hundred wagons in a big long line, and they make a camp circle at night. The lady that gave the statue of St. Francis to our church always takes it with her to be blessed. She carries it in her trunk, wrapped in a blessed cloth, and when she camps she sets it on something, never on the ground. . . . When they get to Magdalena, they go straight to the church and get their property blessed. Then they have a good time and buy things.

788 439 As indicated by the last lines, the days in the rich Mexican valley were as much a carnival as a religious exercise. The little town of Magdalena brought out its stores of fruit, candy, cheap jewelry, and Mexican finery and held a fair in the plaza. It was from this source that the Indians brought their most cherished white man's goods. Only recently has it been displaced by the nearer markets at Tucson.

000 The Indians always saved a little money for candles and holy

The Indians always saved a little money for candles and holy 794
relics. It was the possession of these, say the present-day Papago, 177
which led to the building of the little "Sonora" churches dotted over the reservation. These are managed by the Indians themselves, without a priest, and the official church organization refers to them as unaffiliated. It is hard to establish the date when the first one was built, but a middle-aged Santa Rosa woman insists that they go no farther back than her own grandmother. This grandmother was a *sénat* (señorita) who married into a family of northern Papago, while they were wintering in Mexico. She returned with them to Papagueria, was surprised at their lack of churches, and suggested that her family build one to house their holy relics. They put up a one-room adobe house, in the Papago style, but added a stuccoed false front to imitate the façade of a Mexican church. The form became standardized, and now the reservation has some hundreds of these miniature sanctuaries, appealing as a drawing on a child's slate.

Each is sponsored by a patriarchal family, with those of its connections who are friendly and live nearby. This is just the sort of unit which used to prepare new fields or found a village. Two of their number are chosen head men and seem to take the place of the two *fiscales* prescribed in Spanish colonial organization. These see to the upkeep of the building and organize the feasts, collecting food from the members and assigning duties. No priest attends, and some churches will not allow one unless, perchance, he comes from Sonora. The service consists of the chanting of a few series of prayers, such as the Rosary and the Benediction. Almost always the officiant is a woman. Perhaps this is due to the first *señorita*, who offered to lead her adopted family in the Ave Maria and the Pater Noster. It was an innovation for the Papago, whose pagan ritual was entirely in the hands of men, but doubtless they had seen the predominantly feminine congregations of Mexican churches. They say, as many Latins do, that it is women who have time to learn the prayers; yet in turning over this function to females, they have kept as close as possible to their old ritual pattern. The woman officiant belongs to the lineage of the "head man" and is usually his sister or daughter. She passes her lore down to a daughter or a niece.

794 177 The Sonora churches have no regular Sunday services. The dates celebrated are Christmas, Easter, All Souls' Day, and one or two saints' days. Supposedly the festival celebrated is that of the patron saint, but few Papago are clear on this. In their minds all the chapels are dedicated to San Francisco Xavier, whose photographs crowd the walls. This picture shows the effigy found in so many Jesuit churches, representing the saint, clad in his bishop's robes and lying upon his tomb, as he does in his own mission church at Macao in the South Seas. No step in acculturation could [761] be more drastic than this cult of a dead man, by the Papago, who fear the dead and taboo their names. To the writer, it seems possible that they never grasped the fact that the pictures do represent a sarcophagus.

x796 177 496 For a week before a feast day all the related families who "own" the church work hard. The men clear the grounds and repair the adobe buildi[illegible]. They straighten the wooden cross which stands opposite the door some forty or fifty yards away. They clean off the dance ground, a flat space of gravel between cross and church. Generally this has over and around it an arrangement of poles and cross pieces like the skeleton of a tent, and these are decorated with paper pennants in various colors. In the feast house, an adobe building next door with a huge outdoor kitchen, the earthen ovens are cleaned, and wood is brought for fires.

The women clean the inside of the church, dusting the photographs, laying clean cloths on the altar, and perhaps making a new saint's bed of silk and lace. On the earthen floor they lay canvas. Then the most skillful ones sit down to make crepe paper flowers to decorate altar and outdoor cross. Others clean the kitchen and the big wooden tables in the feast house, where the whole village will be asked to dine. The group of owner families has been assessed for meat, beans, and canned goods. Toward the end of the week all the women gather at the feast house and spell each other in baking bread.

x796 177 At twilight on the eve of the feast day dinner is served to all comers. The two head men take turns acting as major domo, the women cook, the young men wait at table, the girls help in the

kitchen. Several beeves are consumed on such an occasion, and 796x
a hundredweight of bread. After dark there may be a service in 177
the church led by the woman officiant, and here the scene is outstandingly Mexican. Women crowd in and kneel in the tiny space, while the men stand outside.

After the service, the whole congregation forms a procession, like that to be seen in so many Mexican towns. The head man carries the saint's image, and perhaps two acolytes hold an arch
of paper flowers over his head. Behind him comes an orchestra [533]
of guitar and two violins, which may cost the church owners
twenty-five dollars a night. Then comes the congregation, men first, women following. They march to the cross, which the head man circles, while the followers turn about face, and then they return to the church where all leave contributions in the clay bank on the altar.

After this, comes the dancing. The orchestra takes its place in
a booth, and the men make a fire if the night is cold. Old people,
young people, and children dance a sort of polka. The Papago [535]
know that this dance was brought from Mexico, but they still
observe some of their own rules. Girls dance with girls and boys [576]
with boys. Respectable women dance only with their husbands.
The dance ground contains as many small children as adults.

In the dark, at the outskirts of the dance ground, drinking goes 796x
on. So does lovemaking. Both these relaxations were a part of 177
the old rainmaking ceremony, and a few years ago the drink 786
served at church fiestas was the native cactus beer. At present it is 273
hard liquor brought in by bootleggers, and drunkenness is sometimes extreme. This change is hard to assess exactly, for the very same thing has gone on in Mexico. Many Sonora Indians, like the Papago, practiced ceremonial drinking and have now transferred the custom to Christian feasts. The Papago may have copied their Mexican neighbors, or the change to a near orgy may have been a parallel development with all. Certainly when people begin to revive on Sunday afternoon (the dancing goes on throughout Saturday night), there are usually some serious injuries to be found and occasionally a death.

These unaffiliated churches may have been developing at the 794
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794 very time when Franciscan missionaries again reached Papagueria,
177 in the years after 1909. The Brothers Minor now have four missionary churches, including their old post at San Xavier and three in the desert. Their visiting priests reach many of the villages, and slowly they are working to bring the unaffiliated churches into line. It is not uncommon for people to attend services of both branches and sometimes of the Presbyterians as well.

x796 The Franciscans found another form of Christian ceremony
177 already established, principally among the southern villages which have direct access to Mexico. This was the sacred dance, with clowning, encouraged by the early missionaries as a means of dramatizing Christian tenets for their savage converts. Unlike the "Sonora" festivals, it was carried on under the direct auspices of the church, and it is so still. Exhaustive studies have been made of this kind of mummers' play among Yaqui and Mayo.[4] With these Mexican groups, as with the eastern pueblos, the celebration takes place at Easter and often includes a dance by men in non-Indian dress known as the *fariseos* (pharisees). Echoes of this custom appear among the "Easter devils" at Kavorik, on the Papago reservation.

Kavorik (Cowlic of the whites) is a town near the Mexican border which has recently received direct immigration from Caborca. It has a churchly organization on the Spanish mission style, and during Passion Week, a churchly celebration unknown among other Papago. During the whole week there are antics by masked men known usually as *tciaur* (Spanish, *diablo*). However, informants also used the term *fariseos* and also *Navitcu*, the Papago clown of the prayer-stick festival.[5] The mask is not that of Navitcu, for instead of being a simple deerskin bag it represents a horned animal, and it may be of calfskin. Still, it is made in the regular ceremonial style, by an old man whose function is hereditary. The impersonators also carry a long cactus stick, as Navitcu does and must pledge themselves, as he does, to serve for four successive years. Also like him, they do not speak but utter cries in the *kachina* manner. There may be twenty impersonators—some wearing masks of deerskin, some of calfskin, and some of peccary. The horned creature they represent looks like no animal in particular 796x and is said to be the devil. The rest of the costume consists of 177 old, ragged clothing, though formerly the impersonator went naked. Youths who volunteer for this service expect to gain good [777] fortune, like other ceremonial performers.

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[4] Parsons, 1934.

[5] Underhill, 1934. pp. 415–17.

The devils appear on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday of Holy Week. During these days everyone guards his yard enclosure with a cross, because anything not so protected may be appropriated by the devils. "This is to teach the people how to guard against bad people." The devils come around, gesturing and scaring the children and will take anything outside the yard. The remedy is to make the sign of the cross; then the devil will run away. If he has taken anything, one may chase him with a crucifix or make him an offering of a cigarette(!); then he will drop the object. The devils are particularly active on Good Friday night. On Saturday morning, everything that they have taken is piled up in front of the church. The people come to claim their property and pay a cigarette or five or ten cents. Otherwise everything is burned.

After the redemption of property, the devils are whipped with 785 branches of *Encelia farinosa*. This, when they were naked, was a 177 serious affair and meant really to hurt. There is a whipper for each devil, chosen by the old man in charge of the arrangements. The devils do not resist, but come docilely and kneel. Just before the whipping the people throw flowers on the devils. "These are from Santa Maria Guadalupe," they say. The reason is that "once when Guadalupe was on this earth, a man threw flowers on her, asking for rain. You can see the flowers on her robe now, although some call them stars." Throwing flowers has since been [788] recognized as a way to ask for rain from the Christian supernaturals. After being whipped, the devils remove their masks and throw them on the fire, where the booty is being burned. They say: "Now I shall feel happy. I shall relinquish my work. I shall continue four years, then I shall finish. Whoever is a friend to me will assume this duty and will follow as I did."

After the devils have been disposed of, there is social dancing 535 in couples, in the Mexican style. At intervals a "pascol" dancer, 177

535 177 like those seen among the Yaqui, performs his shuffling solo dance in bare feet, his calves wound with strings of cocoon rattles. Otherwise he wears his ordinary clothes. Few Papago know this dance, and the performer may be imported from the Yaqui settlement in Tucson or from Mexico.

x796 177 No other Papago village performs this ceremony, which, says tradition, was brought by immigrant Papago from south of the border. However, Santa Rosa, in the north, echoes some elements of it. Here, on Saturday before Easter, the people gather at the Roman Catholic Church, but without a priest. They are laden with flowers, a custom unknown in Papago ceremony, but common in Mexico. They march to the outdoor cross, chanting and scattering the flowers. Then they meet in the church, where relatives present one another with baskets of food, particularly sweet cakes.

Another ceremony, containing more Papago elements is that given on Holy Cross Day at the little village of Santa Cruz (Papago, Mulberry Pond) in the Pisinimo group. Though Holy Cross Day is the fourth of May, one is tempted to connect this ceremony with the old cleansing dance held in November, especially elaborate at Pisinimo. The elements of the ceremony, it will be remembered, were the ritual killing of a deer and a dance around deer meat and garnered crops, after which the meat was eaten as a charm for health and luck.

At present, after mass a steer is blessed by the priest, then roped and killed in front of the church. Then the people, carrying several saints' pictures from the church, walk in procession to a stone cross a quarter of a mile away. The pilgrimage, conducted by the sacristan, with the people singing in Spanish, is in the style of the Spanish church ceremonies of two centuries ago. The progress is in seven stages, with seven halts, when the holy pictures are set down on a sheet spread by the acolytes, while all the people kneel and pray. When they reach the cross they are met by women with specially baked cakes in the shape of a cross. Everyone takes [777] a cake and eats it for good luck, as they once ate corn and venison. Then they rise and walk back to the church, bonfires being fired on each side of the road as they pass.

Other ceremonies celebrated with the co-operation of church 796^x authorities are St. John's Day, the Day of the Assumption, and 177 All Souls' Day. The writer saw St. John's Day at Santa Rosa. The church was decorated with paper flowers, and on the evening of the day (arrangements could not be made for the evening before, which was the correct time) the women sang the Rosary. Then [533] a hired orchestra of Papago, with violins and guitars, took their places outside the church. The boys and girls danced in couples, [536] a Spanish form of fox trot, until well after sunrise the next morning. Then a "chicken pull" was held. This is the Spanish *corso* [526] *de gallo,* in which a live cock is buried to its neck in the sand and horsemen, galloping past, lean over and try to pull it out.

The feast of the Assumption was very similar, but without the chicken pull. On that night women put up a canvas shelter outside the church and cooked a huge meal of beans, tortillas, and boiled meat. Inside the church the Rosary was sung and then the young people danced all night. There were some villages in which this dancing continued three days.

All Souls has versions varying from the completely Christian [796]^x to those with decided Indian flavor. It should be mentioned that 764 all Papago now have Christian burial. Perhaps because their own 177 treatment of death was so unceremonious, they have found room for the funeral practices of the whites more easily than for other religious services. Whereas the corpse was once thrust into a crevice and sealed in with rocks or housed, seated, in a cabin of stone, it is now laid in a coffin and buried, facing the east. Whereas there was only a hasty farewell, with the adjuration not to return, there are now prayers by a clergyman or at least a layman.

But the custom of placing gifts with the dead persists, or did in 1932. Expensive clothes and saddles are often bought, and the grave may be lavishly stocked with goods and food. Some families keep dishes at a grave from year to year, and one dish, seen by the writer was in the ancient ceremonial duck form. On All Souls' [796]^x night a feast for the dead is set out in many a house, but the family does not share it with the departed in Mexican style. Papago fear of the dead is too strong for that, so the living leave [761] the house and spend the haunted hours in church.

794 797 177 The Protestant services held on the reservation show no such blending of Christian with pagan, for the Protestants demand a complete break. Only one sect is present in Papagueria, the Presbyterians. They have had missionaries at work since before the reservation was established and have now three or four churches, with native missionaries. This sober sect, lacking in the pageantry of Catholicism, nevertheless fits at some points into the Papago pattern. The Papago, from their very poverty, could not indulge in pageantry to the extent common in the Pueblos and it may be that they did not feel such necessity for ceremonial display in a new religion. On the other hand, they were used to a council meeting in which elder after elder delivered a speech of admonition, exhorting all to adhere to the Papago moral law. The procedure of a Protestant prayer meeting is highly sympathetic to such people.

794 177 A further appeal is made by the singing. The native missionaries are taught, as part of their training, to play the piano and to perform part singing, and they make a point of teaching hymns to their congregations. The hymns used are modern ones, with lively choruses, and in these the Papago delight. They are enchanted with the part singing, which is new to them, and will croon over a bass part for hours, as they once did their ceremonial songs. The various rural churches compete in singing at their yearly camp meeting, and the feeling of rivalry then aroused is a little like that at the old intervillage games.

At present every Papago, except the very old, has some church affiliation. Some attend all services occasionally, while also patronizing the shaman. Still, acculturation is proceeding so fast that this nondescript stage can hardly endure. The different areas show signs of settling down to permanent allegiance, mostly dictated, as Papago economics are, by family affiliation.

APPENDIX

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THE PRAYER-STICK FESTIVAL

x796 191 IN the course of the foregoing descriptions numerous likenesses to Pueblo procedure have appeared. They are so scattered that assembling them would not lead to any definite conclusion, unless equal attention were devoted to the whole area from the Basin to northern Mexico. However, there is one Papago ceremony which shows such constant and detailed similarities that it seems worth while to note them in the same volume with the description of the ceremony itself. This is the *wiikita,* or prayer-stick festival.

Certain features of the *wiikita* can, indeed, be found in north Mexico, as they can in the Pueblos. Impersonations of the sun and the moon, for instance, were used by the Cora;[1] child actors by Cora,[2] Tepecano[3] and Yaqui.[4] Masked clowns were known to Yaqui and Mayo.[5] Prayer sticks and corn meal were used in Mexico, and other elements of the festival may once have been used, though there is little evidence on the subject now.

Yet these resemblances are general ones. When traced down to details, the moon impersonation, the child actors, and the clowns are not much like those of the Papago. When we turn to the Pueblos, however, the opposite is the case: the more details we obtain, the closer grows the parallel. True, the *wiikita* as a whole

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[1] Preuss, 1912b, Pl. VIII. This represents the Moon goddess, Sun being no longer impersonated, though described in song (p. xciv).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. lxx.

[3] Mason, 1918, p. 25.

[4] Observed by the writer with the Yaqui group at Tuscon.

[5] Parsons and Beals, 1934, pp. 500–509.

x 776 cannot be matched with any one Pueblo ceremony. Yet individual
171 costumes, officiants, and rites *can* be matched, in case after case. Given such clear similarity between the Papago and certain Pueblos, notably those of the Hopi, it seems far-fetched to assume that both are reflecting some vanished prototype. More logically, we might suspect an actual borrowing between the two regions, and that at not too remote a time. Since archaeological findings now reveal a good deal of movement in both directions just previous to the historic period, this supposition may not be impossible.

The Papago prayer-stick festival is held at only two places: Archie in the north and Quitovaca in the south. According to the origin myth these places were selected by I'itoi, after he had led the people from underground. He planted prayer sticks at these two spots, in the Pueblo manner[6] and instructed the people to come back to these points and hold the prayer-stick festival. This bit of geographic lore may have no more value than any other justification by myth. Yet it might be of interest were it decided that the Piman population is actually a mixed one, including some immigrants from the north along with the so-called Hohokam stock.

The two prayer-stick festival ceremonies thus instituted are not very similar, yet each has decided Pueblo parallels. The festival at Archie, the more elaborate of the two, takes place every four years, in December. At that time Archie, a "field" village, is deprived of water and normally deserted. Had the *wiikita* been a sort of super-harvest feast, as previous writers have called it, we should expect it to occur at a more convenient time and nearer to harvest. However, its avowed aim, in addition to the usual one of rain and crops, is "to keep the world in order." This is the purpose of a Pueblo solstice ceremony, and the *wiikita* comes as near to the winter solstice as to harvest.

The Archie festival, which takes immense preparation, has its own set of hereditary officials, quite apart from the village leaders who are in charge of other communal ceremonies. These men, here spoken of prosaically as "director" and "sub-directors," are

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[6] Parsons, 1939, p. 255.

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alluded to obliquely by the Papago as *ha'itcu* (Something), the term used for the heads of Hopi ceremonies.[7] Before their duties begin, they go into retreat, as do the heads of Pueblo ceremonies,[8] but their desert version of this practice is to leave the village and camp alone by a small fire. Having no ceremonial room, they make the preparations for the feast in a temporary shelter, but the rules followed there are the usual Pueblo restrictions. They and the men helping them do not go home, which is to say, they observe continence.[9] Helpers on their ceremonial errands run, as do planters of prayer sticks in the Pueblos and the Hopi messengers to Sun House.[10] They observe, too, a common Hopi rule for silence or very low voices.[11]

Clowns, corn-meal sprinklers, song composers, even the man who paints the singers,[12] are also hereditary officers. We might liken the status of these helpers to that of the firemaker in some Hopi kivas, who must always be of the Badger clan, the waterbearer, from the Water clan, or the sand bringer from the Sand clan.

The corn-meal sprinklers form a particularly close link with the Pueblos and do not appear at any other Papago ceremony. True, the Papago place corn meal in the hand of a shaman or a ceremonialist when they request his services. Still, the lavish public sprinkling of corn meal occurs only at the *wiikita*. The meal strewn there in the path of dancers corresponds with the making of a corn-meal "road" in the pueblos,[13] though the Pueblo "roadmaker" had a much more important position than his Papago counterpart. With the Hopi, such a man was an initiated member of *powamu;*[14] at Zuni, a medicine society member; at Jemez and the Keresan Pueblos a member of a clown society; and at Domingo, the war captain.[15] With the Papago the corn-meal sprinkler had no other necessary duty or connection, a further proof, perhaps, that the function was an unusual one. The night running of corn-meal sprinklers from village to village can be

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[7] Information from Dr. Kennard.

[8] Parsons, 1939, pp. 428–33, 437–38.

[9] Cf. Parsons, 1939, p. 428, 1933, p. 67.

[10] Parsons, 1939, p. 394.

[11] Parsons, 1939, p. 435; Dorsey and Voth, I, 40.

[12] Cf. Parsons, 1939, p. 402, "Arraying the impersonation of a *kachina* chief is an important function, vested in a lineage (Hopi) or in a cult society (Zuñi)."

[13] Bunzel, 1929–30, p. 499; Parsons, 1939, p. 253.

[14] Voth, 1901, p. 93.

[15] Parsons, 1939, p. 387.

796 duplicated at Hopi, where every ceremony has couriers who go
171 from one mesa to another, sprinkling meal to bestow blessing.[16] Specifically at the war chief's ceremony, on Second Mesa,[17] young men in couples, dressed as war gods, run from house to house, pushing doors open to sprinkle, not corn meal, but medicine. These particular runners do not wear the bell, which is today an important part of the Papago costume, but bells were often worn by Hopi ceremonial runners.[18]

The sprinkling of meal on all who enter the Papago work enclosure has similarities to Zuni practice, where anyone entering a ceremonial room to participate sprinkles meal on himself[19] and the *kachinas* in a winter dance series sprinkle meal before them on entering a house.[20] Granted that none of these resemblances are exact, still, they are impressive by their mere numbers, while the same features are entirely absent from other Papago ceremonies.

The Papago corn-meal sprinklers "make the road" for a group of masked and kilted singers, whose function is not hereditary. Shall we liken them to the "poor" men of Zuni, who belonged to no society except the village-wide *kachina* cult? Such masked figures appear nowhere else in Papago ceremonial. They end each song with a *kachina*-like cry, *ku-úh!* They carry evidences of plenty in their deer and mountain effigies as *kachinas* carry corn or bean stalks. Finally, we might adduce their name, *vípinyim*, which seems to mean northerners.[21]

These singers are organized by villages, the usual Papago arrangement, whereas the Zuni *kachinas* are organized by kivas. With this difference, which is a natural result of geography, we find that both groups have directors who drill them and song composers. The Zuni add makers of masks and prayer sticks,[22] whereas the Papago distribute the above duties much more generally.

It would be interesting to have a musical analysis of the *vípinyim* songs. They deal with rain and plenty as *kachina* songs do, but that is characteristic of all Papago songs. These particular compositions, new for the occasion, as *kachina* songs so often are, might give a clue which would suggest the north, as the scraping-stick songs do the south.

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[16] Information from Dr. Parsons.

[17] Parsons, 1939, p. 504.

[18] Stephen, pp. 584, 571.

[19] Bunzel, 1929–30, p. 499.

[20] Parsons, 1933, p. 180.

[21] Russell (p. 328n.) got the same translation.

[22] Bunzel, 1930, p. 518.

The small boys, with their snouted masks, interspersed among the singers, have their parallel at Hopi in the boy *kachina* of Soyal[23] and other small *kachina* dancers,[24] at Zuni in the mischievous "little dancers,"[25] occasional boy kiva dancers,[26] and in the *culawitsi* impersonation.[27] Acoma,[28] Laguna,[29] and Isleta[30] also have their small boy dancers,[31] while the child actors of Cora and Tepecano, previously mentioned, are passive representations of the deities, sometimes carried in arms. The Yaqui children, although coming a little closer, are "angels" in a Christianized *matachina* dance.

The *wiikita* corn dancers, dramatizing a local myth, furnish a more distinctly Papago element, a suggestion strengthened by the fact that they act quite independently of the main performance. Their myth, that of the "flood children," has indeed its correlate at Hopi and Zuni,[32] but the tale there is but one incident among many, while, with the Papago it gives rise to an important local cult. At the Archie *wiikita* the young "corn dancers" form the focus of the whole ceremony, the elaborate processions of singers passing before them to do them honor. Something of the same sort takes place at the summer ceremony at Quitovaca. It would be possible to imagine here an imported ceremony, coalescing with local ones and symbolically exchanging civilities in the reciprocal throwing of corn meal.

The step used by the corn dancers may have been a common one in the whole area. It is the usual step in the Pueblos, where the males prance, while the females bob gently up and down, holding symbols in their upright hands. The Papago dancers, a boy and a girl from each moiety, have their duplicates at the Cochiti winter Bow Dance, where performers are a man and a

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[23] Dorsey and Voth, I, 26n.

[24] Fewkes, 1894, p. 265.

[25] Bunzel, 1930, p. 1077.

[26] Parsons, 1922, p. 178.

[27] Bunzel, 1929–30, pp. 958–61.

[28] White, 1929–30, p. 79.

[29] Parsons, 1920a, p. 101.

[30] Parsons, 1929–30, p. 333.

[31] Parsons, 1933, pp. 9–10.

[32] See 69n.

*796 171 woman from each moiety, the men holding corn and arrows, the women eagle feathers.[33]

One of the closest connections with the Pueblos is found in the impersonation of Navitcu, the ceremonial clown. His kilt, mask, and shrill cry are in the *kachina* manner, while performers at other ceremonies are maskless and wear a breechclout. Even the name suggests the Pueblos. The Keres have a whole group of "nawish" who are called on for help in planting[34] and who distribute green corn and melons at the dances.[35] Their costumes are not described, but at Zuni, the clownish Nahalico, or Crazy Grandchild,[36] wears a bag-like goat-skin mask with turkey feathers. Another Zuni *kachina,* Navico,[37] wears squash blossoms as an augury of plenty. A young *kachina,* chosen for a part in the initiation ceremony because he had no other duties, he was bidden to carry corn with him—in fact, to *be* the corn.

The Hopi, too, have a *kachina* who recalls Navitcu, though with a different name. Eototo, who carries corn and beans at the *powamu* ceremony, has a bag-like elk-hide mask.[38] He, with his people, the Bear clan, is said to have left the Hopi on their wanderings and gone to the south, whence they returned much later to Oraibi.[39]

*796 171 773 It seems obvious that Navitcu's "northern home" is the Pueblos. However, his relationships are varied, for his personality combines the *kachina* with the ceremonial clown. At the prayer-stick festival there is not one Navitcu but a group of from ten to thirty. They run among the people before the ceremony collecting gifts, like Pueblo clowns and perhaps those of Mexico also.[40] During the dance they caper among the performers. They stage little comedies, satirizing daily life, and here they abandon their shrill cries and even speak. Pueblo clowns indulge in the same buffoonery, but we are reminded particularly of the Zuni *ne'wekwe,* bringers of corn.[41] It was a *ne'wekwe* who pursued the corn maidens when they had fled from Zuni and found them by planting a 796x cottonwood tree, which grew to the sky. Thus, he escorted them 171 back to Zuni, but Molawia, the name of the festival, which com- 773 memorates the achievement, means melons.[42] The Papago Navitcu duplicated the *ne'wekwe* achievement. "The wind blew a beautiful girl up to the top of a cliff (a Papago myth element which has many different endings). The people, after holding a meeting every night, without deciding upon any means of getting her down, called on Navitcu. They sent a man to the north to sprinkle corn meal for him and he came, traveling underground as he always does. He took squash seeds from his heart and planted [241] them at the foot of the cliff. A vine grew up and the girl climbed down it. This is the origin of squash and why we sing to Navitcu when we plant it."(12) Like the *ne'wekwe,*[43] and like many other clown and *kachina* groups, Navitcu can cure. A common explanation of disease among the Papago is the breaking of a ceremonial taboo, and the cure is a repetition of the violated ceremony or of some part of it. But Navitcu, usually spoken of in the singular in spite of his plural manifestations, is a healer *par excellence.* When he appears at the prayer-stick festival, people sit in rows waiting for his touch, and they also call for the impersonation at any time of the year. The function and mask of Navitcu are hereditary in certain families, as are those of the *ne'wekwe.*[44]

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[33] Goldfrank, p. 168.

[34] Parsons, 1939, p. 203n.

[35] Boas, pp. 210, 278.

[36] Bunzel, 1930, pp. 1065–66.

[37] Bunzel, 1929–30, p. 991.

[38] Earle and Kennard, Pl. LV.

[39] Information from Jimmy Kewánwytewa, Oraibi.

[40] Parsons, 1934; also, Zuni, Bunzel, 1930, pp. 274, 524; Tewa, Parsons, 1929, pp. 129, 185; Isleta, Parsons, 1930, p. 323; Mexico, Sahagún Bandelier, pp. 40, 41, 66.

[41] Parsons, 1916, pp. 229–32.

The ritually made "fields" among which these clowns disport themselves might well be an enlarged version of the altar made by the Hopi for the god of germination[45] and composed of sand mounds into which are stuck ears of corn and prayer sticks. In fact, at one Walpi solstice performance Fewkes describes an imitation cornfield, with plants on clay pedestals, to be knocked down by the water serpent and then given to the women as an augury of plenty.[46] The usual Pueblo sand altar is referred to sometimes at Isleta as "the village," and at Acoma as "the fields."[47] The making of large sand mounds like those of the Papago occurs, too, at Zuni during *sha'lako,*[48] and scalp ceremonial.[49]

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[42] *Ibid.*, p. 596.

[43] Cushing, 1920, p. 620.

[44] Parsons, 1916, p. 229.

[45] Fewkes, 1920, p. 594.

[46] Fewkes, 100, pp. 608–9, 615, 617.

[47] Information from Dr. Parsons.

[48] Parsons, 1917, pp. 188–89.

[49] Parsons, 1924, p. 9.

*796 The sun and moon impersonations of the prayer-stick festival 171 also recall the Pueblos. True, these deities are prominent in northern Mexico, and the Cora even impersonate the moon. However, she is a small child, unmasked, while the Papago impersonators are men, their faces concealed by painted masks or shields. The same thing is a feature of the Hopi solstice ceremony, where sun may appear as a man with a shield,[30] a man with a star headdress and a sun disk on a stick, or[31] a man with sun disk mask,[32] but in all cases he makes the same swaying motion as the Papago sun. Except for this solstice ceremony, no impersonation is reported, though girl dancers may wear sun disks on their backs,[33] and many Pueblos use sun drawings or symbols. Moon symbols are rarer, though one appears at the Walpi *palülükonti*.[34]

The summer prayer-stick festival of the Papago lacks a good many of the winter features, though it is in essence a performance of masked singers representing different villages and aided by hereditary clowns. The singers, instead of bearing effigy objects on a platform, are armed with long wands, which recall the Hopi Soyal prayer sticks[35] or the wands of office given to *kachina* impersonators for the Zuni *sha'lako*.[36]

The sprinkling of corn meal at the summer ceremony is a more exact process than in the winter ceremony, for performers must jump to the very spot where the meal is placed. We can find this paralleled in the Zuni *molawia*,[37] where the corn maiden stands on a cross of corn meal, or at Laguna, where the war captain throws meal on the spot to be occupied by the *kachinas*.[38] On any Pueblo altar, too, the place prepared for a sacred object is marked by a cross of corn me[illegible]

The outstanding event of the summer ceremony is the "shooting of the food" by two masked beings, called *kúatcu'k* and Návitcu or, even Nanavitcu, in the plural. A glance at the costumes of Hopi *kachinas* shows their trappings to be much like those of

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[30] Fewkes, 1894, pp. 269, 271, 291; Stephen, I, 24.

[31] Dorsey and Voth, I, 54–55.

[32] Fewkes, 1899–1900, pp. 21, 100–101, Pl. XXXVIII.

[33] Parsons, 1939, pp. 378–79.

[34] Fewkes, 1894, p. 291.

[35] Dorsey and Voth, Vol. I, Pl. XVII.

[36] Parsons, 1933, p. 69.

[37] Parsons, 1916, p. 397.

[38] Parsons, 1920a, p. 124.

[39] Bunzel, 1929–30, p. 499.

Eototo,[60] and the account of Eototo's proceedings at Oraibi *powamu* throws much light on their ceremony.[61]

The Hopi Eototo is accompanied by his "partner" the Aholi *kachina,* named from his long cry, *aholi-i-i.* The pyramidal pointed mask and the cloak of skin worn by the latter show no resemblance to the unmasked Papago *kúatcu'k,* but Aholi carries the essential, a long pointed wand. Early in the morning the two Hopi *kachinas* proceed to their clan houses (according to Voth, also to kivas), Eototo in the lead and Aholi following. On the way to each, Eototo pauses silently, four times to make a cloud symbol with corn meal on the ground. Aholi steps on the marks, then, placing the tip of his wand at their central point, he revolves the wand top four times, counterclockwise, uttering his cry. "This is to show that they are acting for the whole world." Arriving at the house, Eototo makes eight horizontal corn-meal marks on its wall, from right to left, and Aholi repeats in the same place. The people give them prayer sticks, and they reciprocate with corn.

The Papago rite is a somewhat reversed version of this, with the wandbearer preceding and the corn-meal sprinkler following. The cry is *kuh-úh,* a usual *kachina* cry, instead of *aholi.* However, we can hardly mistake the connection between these two rites, not duplicated elsewhere so far as reports go. In this connection the migration legend told by an Oraibi informant is suggestive. This member of Aholi's clan (the corn people), said that during the Hopi wanderings both bear and seed corn people, with their leaders, Eototo and Aholi, turned away to the south. They were absent for many years, and finally Eototo and the bears returned to Oraibi. Aholi had been killed by enemies, but his people at last brought his mask and clothes to Walpi, whence, finally, they arrived at Oraibi.

"Shooting the food" is an added rite which we can find paralleled at the Hopi *marau,*[62] where women, dressed as archers, throw ahead of them a bundle of bean shoots and melons, shoot-

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[60] Earle and Kennard, Pl. IV.

[61] Voth, 1901, p. 114; Stephen, I, 170–73; Fewkes, 1899–1900, p. 76, Pl. XIV; Parsons, 1925, p. 46.

[62] Voth, 1912, p. 66.

×796 ing arrows into it. This, like the Papago shooting, seems a rite of
171 cleansing.

The relationship of the prayer-stick festival to the Pueblos seems clear enough, so its distribution in the Piman area may be of interest. The Salado people settled on the Salt and Gila rivers, now on the Pima reservation. If they brought the ceremony, we should expect to find it more strongly entrenched among the Pima than among even the northern Papago. Evidence on the subject is hard to find, since all Pima ceremonies have lapsed, but perhaps we might consider the statement of Russell,[63] made in 1902: "They have no other ceremonies than an occasional 'rain dance,' the Navico and other ceremonies for the cure of disease." If the Navitcu impersonation, even though used only for curing,[64] has outlasted other ceremonies, it may be possible that its background, the *wíikita,* was once present also. The writer also questioned a number of Pimas on the subject, and most thought that the ceremony had once existed. The northern Papago who have the festival in its most elaborate form are the neighbors of the Pima and speak a similar dialect. The western Papago, in the purlieus where the Salado people hardly penetrated, do not have it or any memory of it. There remains the southern version. Archaeology has, so far, nothing to say about the area, and that part of the problem remains dark.

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[63] Russell, p. 250.

[64] See p. 285.

INFORMANTS

Name	*Moiety*	*Sib*	*Village*	*Dialect*	*Description*
1. José Antón	Coyote	Aapap	Pisinimo	Koroti	Chief of Pisinimo
2. Bernabé López (Donkey Shoulder)	Coyote	Apki	San Pedro	Archie	Chief of San Pedro village; orator at drinking ceremony
3. José Enos	Coyote	Aapap	Kaka	Huhura	Sub-chief of Kaka village in charge of liquor ceremony, hereditary dancer at green corn ceremony
4. José Morano	Buzzard	Maam	Covered Wells	Archie	Hereditary speaker at mocking bird drinking ceremony, orator for salt expedition
5. Jim Thomas (Dionisio)	Coyote	Apki	Anegam	Archie	An elder who accompanied Anekam salt expeditions; keeper of the calendar stick
6. José Marcellino	. . .	. . .	Akchin	Archie	One of the elders who accompanied Akchin salt expeditions
7. Juan Gregorio	Coyote	Aapap	Santa Rosa	Archie	Enemy slayer in mock battle, therefore possessing war trophy and ritual
8. Albert Antón	Coyote	Aapap	Santa Rosa	Archie	Enemy slayer in mock battle with war trophy and ritual; village elder versed in ceremonials; *wiikita* singer

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Name	Moiety	Sib	Village	Dialect	Description
9. Santiago Maristo	Coyote	Aapap	Komarik	Archie	War shaman; father, an enemy slayer whose trophy he now tends; one of the four official narrators of the origin myth
10. Juan Marcos	. . .	. . .	Little Tucson	Archie	One of the four official narrators of the origin myth
11. Justin	Coyote	Aapap	Quitovaca	Koroti	Official keeper of regalia for *wíikita* and deer dance
12. Juan López	. . .	. . .	Santa Rosa	Archie	Hereditary clown for *wíikita* ceremony; one of the hereditary song composers for *wíikita* ceremony; a composer of modern song cycles
13. José Pancho	Buzzard	Maam	Santa Rosa	Archie	A young man with good memory who had learned much from his two grandfathers, shamans, and his father, hereditary clown and song composer
14. José Xavier	Buzzard	Okori	Cowlic	Koroti	Organizer of Cowelick Easter Ceremony
15. Pete Jim	Buzzard	Maam	Santa Rosa	Archie	Elected speaker for moral talk at drinking ceremony
16. Patricio López	Coyote	Aapap	Choulic	Archie	Shaman and eagle killer
17. Tomaso Flores	Coyote	Aapap	San Miguel	Koroti	Professional herb doctor and singer for curing

Name	Moiety	Sib	Village	Dialect	Description
18. Donkey Tail	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	Professional herb collector and peddler
19. José Castillo	Coyote	Aapap	Choulic	Archie	Professional singer for curing, especially disease caused by war trophy
20. Juan Diego	Buzzard	Okori	Tecolote	Koroti	Professional singer for curing, especially eye trouble
21. José Santos	Buzzard	Maam	San Xavier	Archie	Keeper of the calendar stick for San Xavier
22. José Ramón (Salt-in-the-coffee)	Coyote	Aapap	Big Fields and San Isidro	Archie	Professional hunter of deer
23. Joaquin López	Buzzard	Maam	Iron Pump	Archie	Professional hunter and worker in hides
24. Harry Leonardo	. . .	. . .	San Xavier	Archie	Professional deer hunter
25. Ben Johnson	. . .	. . .	Ajo	Koroti	
26. Maria Chona	Coyote	Apki	Santa Rosa	Archie	Expert basket maker; had learned much from her father (a chief), her first husband (a shaman), and her second (a singer, hereditary clown and keeper of the calendar stick)
27. Angelita López	. . .	. . .	Santa Rosa	Archie	Expert potter; composer of songs
28. Angelita Tapia	Coyote	Apki	San Isidro	Archie	Expert potter and basket maker

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Name	Moiety	Sib	Village	Dialect	Description
29. Lupe Garcia	Buzzard	Maam	Poso Verde	Koroti	Expert potter; storyteller
30. Juan Harvey	Buzzard	Maam	Choulic	Archie	Phoenix Indian School, Cook Bible School; Phoenix Interpreter
31. John Pancho	Buzzard	Maam	Santa Rosa	Archie	Interpreter
32. Carmen Pancho	. . .	Okori	Koroti	Koroti	Interpreter; wife of John Pancho
33. Rafael Gonzalez	. . .	. . .	Tucson	Archie	Sherman Institute, Riverside, California, Interpreter
34. Lucy Cachorro	. . .	Okori	San Miguel	Koroti	Interpreter
35. Ella López	Coyote	Aapap	Santa Rosa	Archie	Interpreter
36. Frank Vásquez	(moiety lost)	Okori	Pisinimo	Koroti	Interpreter
37. Pablo Santos	Buzzard	Maam	San Xavier	Archie	Interpreter
38. Enos Francisco	Buzzard	Maam	Poso Verde	Koroti	Interpreter
39. Ha Piitchim (Happy Jim)	. . .	. . .	Kaka	Huhuhra	Keeper of hunting ritual
40. Louis Petero (komaki, gray)	Coyote	Apki	Cirenaca	Archie	
41. Ismil Luis	Coyote	Apki	Emita	Huhuhra	(shaman)
42. Harry Pablo	Coyote	Apki	Anegam	Kuhatk	
43. Rosa Thomas	. . .	. . .	Sikorhimat	Archie	Consulted for genealogies

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